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The Shape of Things

THE TINY ATOM HAD A BIG WEEK, WITH three major news stories to its credit. In rising order of importance they were the indefinite postponement of the projected third bomb test at Bikini, the announcement that the navy was designing its new ships for service in an "atomic-age" fleet, and publication of a report on the costs of nuclear power production made to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. "Test Charlie," which was to have been the explosion of an atomic bomb two miles beneath the surface of Bikini Lagoon, is well abandoned. It would have cost more than \$30,000,000 in money and rather more than that in what is left of international good-will, while adding little to what has already been learned. The redesigning of capital ships, so far as the announcement is not the usual navy bombast, is an ominous but inevitable reflection of failures in Paris and at Lake Success. But both these items shrivel into insignificance when compared with the U. N. survey, which merely states that even now the atom can be put to work producing electrical energy at an operating cost only 26 per cent higher than coal. The implications are too vast to be discussed here, but they raise certain obvious and far-reaching questions: First, if atomic energy can be produced by small powers as well as great, what will become of imperialism, lifelines, and the whole military-diplomatic pattern of struggle for dependent markets? Second, if such energy can be produced in areas now useless for lack of oil, coal, or water power, what barren stretches of the world may not be opened up to settlement? Third, if one pound of uranium can yield the power equivalent of 2,000,000 pounds of gasoline, what oil fields, in the Middle East or elsewhere, are worth a war? And finally, won't this peaceful atom make possible that very decentralization of industry which is a nation's only defense against paralysis by atomic bombs?

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CHESTER BOWLES IS BEING VINDICATED—but too late. The crux of his battle with Congress was the foolish question of whether a dike against inflation could be breached just a little bit and still be a dike. The maritime strike that strangled the ports of all three coasts last week proved more conclusively than any walkout so far that dikes are solid or they are meaningless. Other walkouts have demonstrated the inevitability with which

labor will seek to compensate for higher prices by demands for higher wages, but it remained for the shipping strike to drive home to the government the complete folly of its equivocal position. For in this instance the wage demands were so clearly justified that the shippers agreed to meet them in full, only to have the Wage Stabilization Board rule against the increase. The board's ruling may have been well reasoned—as an isolated decision. But that is precisely the difficulty: no case is isolated. Having given the green light to indiscriminate price rises and having allowed corresponding wage increases elsewhere, why stop short with these particular employees? More particularly, why should a union that followed the prescribed course of collective bargaining be denied a hard-won gain? And why should an employer who has conformed to the Wagner Act, not to mention the unfortunate public, be penalized by a drastic strike? Yet if these A. F. of L. seamen are granted their demands, nothing will stop the C. I. O. maritime unions from making a similar request. And so the spiral will continue to mount. The crying need is not for a stern and arbitrary decision at the expense of this or that union or employer, but for a fundamental overhauling of the stabilization program, based on the long view, enforced by determined administrators, and unhampered by Congressmen who can see no farther than the next election.

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ALTHOUGH THE CONFERENCE ON PALESTINE has opened in London under gloomy auspices, close observers insist that a small possibility of success remains. At least the chief interested parties have taken care to provide themselves with pathways of retreat from positions which would rule out all hope of agreement. The Palestinian Arabs stayed away in protest against Britain's refusal to accept the Mufti, but the leaders of the Arab League have arrived; and if they came to London only to repeat their old formulas, why did they come at all? The Jewish Agency has declined to join in discussions based on the federation plan put forward by the British, but it has taken a long step in the direction of compromise by agreeing to consider the establishment of a Jewish state "in an adequate area" of Palestine—in other words, partition, with full rights of self-government. As for the British, they are said to be willing to modify

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their own plan if they can win the Arab League over. Since the Arab leaders undoubtedly share Britain's growing apprehensions about Russian pressure in the Middle East, some observers believe they may prove more amenable than in the past, especially if their feelings are salved by the promise of financial compensation. (But where is the money to come from? Mr. Truman cannot risk any commitments that require Congressional action.) Apparently the hopes expressed in London are based on the possibility that the Arabs will retreat far enough to permit the Jewish Agency to join the conference, and that all three interested parties will then agree upon a modified partition plan with broader provisions for self-government by both Arabs and Jews. The chance looks slim from this side of the Atlantic. It would be greatly improved if the British government would buttress its own efforts by calling off the system of raids and repressions and arrests that takes the place of government in Palestine.

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THERE IS NOT THE SLIGHTEST DOUBT AS TO who won the Chilean election. Gabriel Gonzalez Videla, candidate of the Radical Party, who had the support of almost the entire left, polled nearly 50,000 more votes than his nearest opponent, the rightist candidate, Eduardo Cruz Coke. However, the Chilean constitution provides that in the event no candidate obtains an absolute majority, Congress shall decide, within fifty days after the election, which of the two leading contestants is to become President. This leaves plenty of time for political intrigues and realignments. One possibility, for example, is that the Conservatives and Liberals, who ran separate slates in the election but now, in defeat, are drawing closer together, may join forces; then Congress might conceivably find an a posteriori argument for an absolute majority—though one unworthy of Chile's democratic record—by lumping the Conservative and Liberal votes. But if the President-makers try skullduggery of that sort, they will find themselves up against a real fighter. Though virtually unknown in the United States, Gonzalez Videla is one of the most courageous progressives of the Western Hemisphere. He received support from the Communists, but he is above all the leader of the Radical Party, and he does not intend to allow his opponents to turn their resounding defeat into a rigged victory. Without losing a moment's time he has called for a mass-meeting on September 8 of "all [his] supporters and all industrial, mining, agricultural, and other workers to reaffirm the leftist triumph at the polls." Gonzalez Videla will be remembered as the Chilean ambassador who during the occupation of France defied Vichy and the Germans in protecting Spanish Republicans who were in danger of being delivered over to Franco.

CHOOSING BETWEEN DEWEY AND MEAD FOR Governor and between Lehman and Ives for the Senate, New York voters will probably keep their emotions well under control. If the election were purely one of contending personalities, the campaign would be one of the least stimulating on record. Dewey's performance as Governor is not highly vulnerable, Mead has put in twenty-eight years as a ploddingly capable and consistently liberal legislator; and both Lehman and Ives would wear the Senatorial toga, if not with dash, at least with quiet distinction. But as the campaign develops, New Yorkers will doubtless have thrust upon them the knowledge that the ballot they cast in November will in a sense be a preliminary vote for 1948. A sweeping victory for Dewey would put him in a strong position for another try at the Presidency, and while he has administered the governorship with at least the competence of an able bookkeeper, Albany is a far cry from Washington. The picture of Dewey on the international stage—or the national stage for that matter—is almost enough to give President Truman, by comparison, the stature of a major statesman. This impression is in no way diminished by a reading of Mr. Dewey's acceptance speech. Unavoidably he has taken over, almost in its entirety, the social program that Smith, Roosevelt, and Lehman made an integral part of the state's tradition in spite of bitter and prolonged Republican opposition. Yet, taking a full measure of credit for a program he did not initiate, he assails the Democrats for having, through such legislation, taken the country "step by step into a controlled and regimented society."

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THE BEST OF THE CONVENTION ORATORY, which is not as a rule intended for serious consumption, came from a Democrat who unfortunately is not a candidate for office. We refer to Mrs. Roosevelt's challenging keynote address, which neatly disposed of the standard Republican claim that the G. O. P. not only dotes on the progressive measures which it has been fighting fiercely for twelve years but would enforce them with far greater efficiency than the party that fathered them. "Administration is a question of choosing good administrators," Mrs. Roosevelt concluded, "but it is far more important in times such as these to put in office men who have the creative spirit and can accept unknown conditions and find solutions without always harking back to the security they knew in the past." A similar contrast between hollowness and substance is apparent in the platforms adopted by the two parties. The Republican document promises that the party will continue to give the state "the most humane, progressive, and truly liberal government in its history" and sedulously avoids details. The Democratic platform, on the other hand, takes on major issues with abandon—state, national, and international. It is for the Baruch plan and a system of reciprocal trade treaties; it "condemns the policy and

acts of the British government in Palestine" and calls for "a just and not a punitive peace for a democratic Italy." With a frankness and courage rarely displayed in intra-party relations, it breaks sharply with the Southern Democrats. Dissolution of the Rankin committee is called for, as well as an anti-lynching law and abolition of the poll tax. And its Senatorial nominee is pledged by the platform to "support measures legally to eliminate Bilbo from federal office and influence." We have yet to hear an unkind word from Mr. Dewey about comparable afflictions in the Republican camp.

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TWO INCONSPICUOUS ITEMS APPEARING IN the last few days raise questions which almost certainly will not be answered. One was A. J. Liebling's story in last week's *New Yorker* about the death of a friend of his, a radio correspondent, who was machine-gunned back in 1943 while traveling in an American transport plane flying off its course over "friendly" territory—namely, Spanish Morocco. The plane, full of bullet holes, managed to get to French Morocco, but Mr. Liebling, then in Africa, assumed that the shooting had aroused great indignation in the United States. When he looked through the *Times* files on his return home, he found only the following notice under the smallest possible head:

Mrs. Eduard Baudry has been advised of the death of her husband, thirty-three-year-old Canadian Broadcasting Company correspondent in North Africa. It was learned here today that Mr. Baudry was killed by anti-aircraft fire when the plane in which he was a passenger flew off its course and appeared over Spanish Morocco.

It would be pleasant to attribute this almost excessive restraint to the fact that, with the war still going on, an occasional small incident like a shot-at transport plane was bound to get overlooked. It would be more realistic to suppose that the United States wanted, at that moment, to keep Franco in a relatively friendly mood, while it sees no similar urgency about placating Yugoslavia.

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WE WERE EVEN MORE INTERESTED IN AN editorial note appearing in the *New Statesman and Nation* of August 31. After taking up in detail Tito's charge of frequent violations of Yugoslav sovereignty by United States planes (and ignoring, rather unaccountably, his earlier complaints about British violations), the London weekly reports almost casually, "The Yugoslavs state that a third plane was brought down, but that the evidence was so incriminating that no American protest was made about it. . . ." Do the Yugoslavs state this? If so, newspapers and radio in this country have conspired to conceal, or the government has censored, a most important piece of news—so important, in fact, that we cannot believe the Yugoslavs would tolerate its suppression. But the charge alone is enough to confirm

our belief that the Yugoslav-American dispute should be laid before the Security Council or submitted to the new International Court of Justice. The events leading up to the attacks on our army transport planes represent an issue of fact, not to be disposed of by charges and denials or even by apologies and indemnities.

Propping Up Chiang Kai-shek

HUGH DEANE'S article on another page provides *Nation* readers with a comprehensive survey of the political situation in China and gives special significance to recent developments in United States policy toward the National Government of Chiang Kai-shek.

A fortnight or so ago there seemed to be a bare chance that General Marshall might achieve a last-minute miracle in China by persuading the Kuomintang and Communists to set up the coalition regime to which they committed themselves last January. A five-man committee consisting of two representatives from the Kuomintang and two from the Communists was formed under the chairmanship of Ambassador Stuart. But the committee has never met and probably never will. For while these negotiations were under way it was suddenly announced that arrangements had been completed for the transfer of \$800,000,000 worth of surplus United States army property to the Chiang Kai-shek government. Thus in a single day the United States threw away the only effective weapon available to General Marshall in his effort to prevent China from being devastated by civil war.

President Truman's directive to General Marshall last December held a promise that if China would set up a democratic unified government, the United States would assist substantially in the country's reconstruction. Armed with this promise, General Marshall was able to beat down the military ambitions of the reactionary wing of the Kuomintang and force Chiang to agree, in principle, to a coalition regime. But while waiting for the new agreement to become operative, the United States made the inexcusable mistake of providing large-scale aid to Kuomintang forces fighting the Communists. This assistance has now been overshadowed by the virtually outright gift of 1,500,000 tons of American surplus goods in Okinawa. With such a huge volume of supplies assured—dwarfing the total amount of aid provided during the war—the Kuomintang is in a position to thumb its nose at Marshall's mediation efforts—which is precisely what it is doing. It is true that the surplus material is supposed to be of a civilian character and that the transfer of war planes and military supplies has been held up. But the power to distribute the goods rests with the Kuomintang, and such power is of immense military as well as political significance in a coun-

try like China, where the loyalty of the local military leaders is a salable commodity. Besides, a large proportion of the surplus material consists of trucks, road-building machinery, radio equipment, and other supplies which are adaptable to military as well as civilian uses.

Supposedly these goods were sold to China in exchange for a cancelation of the obligation which the United States incurred during the war for housing, airfields, and services to American troops. Actually the debts are largely fictitious. They were calculated on the basis of an artificial exchange rate which, in some instances, forced the United States to pay from ten to twenty times the market rate for the services rendered.

In support of this betrayal of the President's directive the American people are being treated to a high-pressure campaign picturing Chiang Kai-shek as a bulwark against Soviet encroachment in Asia. Representative Sikes of Florida, spokesman for a House Military Affairs subcommittee, is quoted as saying that Russia is making a bid for the control of all China. *Life* contains an article by a noted church leader, Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen of Union Theological Seminary, which declares that "China in Communist hands would be the most probably . . . prelude to World War III." He concludes "the United States must lend every practicable support" to the Kuomintang.

As is usual with such deductions, the fault lies not so much in the reasoning as in the premise upon which the reasoning is supposed to be based. So far there has been no evidence that Russia is seeking to dominate China. Reports from responsible newspaper correspondents agree that Russia is not only behaving with technical correctness in its dealings with China but that it has been leaning over backward even where Russian interests are involved. True, its activities in Manchuria—particularly the wholesale removal of machinery—showed little concern for the needs of its war-time ally, but on the other hand it has permitted the Chinese Eastern Railway, in which it has a half-interest, to be disrupted by Kuomintang military movements without taking action. It made only verbal protests against the murder of Soviet citizens by anti-Soviet mobs in Mukden and Changchun. Despite its sympathy with Chinese Communists, it has made no effort to help them with either personnel or supplies.

Put the shoe on the other foot, and it would be difficult indeed to deny that the United States is actively intervening in the internal affairs of China. We still maintain 50,000 marines in the country, although the pretext for sending them there has long since vanished. We have propped up a decrepit and corrupt anti-democratic regime and supplied it with sufficient arms to crush the liberal and Communist forces within the country. We are rapidly forcing all Chinese who want a better life to turn to Russia for assistance. We may build up Chiang Kai-shek as a bulwark against Russia, but in doing so we shall forfeit the support of 450,000,000 Chinese and sow the seeds of World War III.

The Byrnes Speech

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

THE chief value of Mr. Byrnes's Stuttgart speech was its positive tone. A coherent policy took shape as he spoke: his plain language carried the conviction that muddle and ambiguity have given way to decision. Briefly, he announced the intention of the United States to stay in Germany as long as any occupation continues, to oppose "vengeful measures" which will obstruct an effective peace, to oppose also reparation levies greater than those agreed on at Potsdam, to support the continued separation of Austria and Germany. He advocated again the administration of Germany as an economic unit and urged the early establishment of a central provisional German government to administer the country, under the Allied Control Council, and prepare a constitution for the "United States of Germany." He proposed that the Allies tell the German people promptly the essential terms of the coming peace treaty and define the boundaries of the new Germany. In this connection he announced that the United States would support the transfer of Königsberg to Russia and a revision of Poland's northern and western frontiers, while reserving the right to modify these territorial changes, as agreed at Potsdam. He accepted the French claim to the Saar but refused to support further "encroachment on territory which is indisputably German," that is, the Ruhr and the Rhineland. He attempted to dispel the fears of those who look upon this great industrial area as a potential war danger by advocating sufficient control over "the whole of Germany, including the Ruhr and the Rhineland, as may be necessary for security purposes." And he added what is undoubtedly one of the most significant comments in the speech: "It [the United States] will not favor any controls that would subject the Ruhr and the Rhineland to the political domination or manipulation of outside powers."

Here at least we have a policy. Leaving behind the sterile controversies about a hard or soft peace, Mr. Byrnes accepts the challenge of the Molotov speech and defines American aims even at the risk of aggravating tension in the East and disappointing our French ally in the West. Clearly, America is now committed to the effort to save Germany from the temptations and pressures of Soviet policy. Or, as Joseph Alsop put it in the New York *Herald Tribune*, Byrnes's speech marks "the formal initiation of the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union which will decide whether this unhappy country [Germany] is to join the free world of the West or become one of the slave states of the Soviet system." One may discount the violent terminology of the right without dismissing the basic truth Mr. Alsop states. Mr. Byrnes has offered Germany an alternative to Russian policy as applied to the eastern zone.

The question which immediately asks itself is what Mr. Byrnes proposes as a substitute for the social and economic plans which Molotov outlined. Unfortunately the answer is not available. Just as the Secretary of State explicitly repudiated the idea of foreign, even international, control of the Ruhr and the Rhineland, so he implicitly rejects or seems to reject any attempt to alter the economic structure of Germany as a whole. He never says so expressly. He does say, however, that "our only job" is to lay down the rules under which Germany can govern itself. He does not specify those rules; but in stating the broad principle that "Germany must be enabled to use her skills and her energies to increase her industrial production and to organize the most effective use of her raw materials," and that the chief "purposes of the military occupation were and are to demilitarize and de-Nazify Germany but not to raise artificial barriers to the efforts of the German people to resume their peace-time economic life," he sets fairly definite boundaries around our intentions.

One may as well admit that a nation so religiously committed to the dogma of private enterprise as is ours is unlikely to abandon its basic creed in a country where it wields temporary power. To expect this would be unrealistic. But it would be just as unrealistic to doubt that our devotion to capitalism presents an immense, perhaps an insuperable, obstacle to Mr. Byrnes's aim of winning Germany for the West.

American business was strongly established in the Reich up to the war. Even Hitler's coordination policy had done little to impair the values represented by the corporations and cartels in which American money was invested. The security of those values depended upon the stability of the entire economic structure. Today their recovery depends upon the rebuilding of German private industry; they will be permanently lost if German industry is socialized.

After the last war the United States, despite its aloof and irresponsible attitude toward Europe, threw powerful weight behind the safe, conservative elements that survived the pseudo-revolution of 1918. Our government supported the Weimar Republic and its exemplary

Last Notice to West Coast Readers!

On Saturday and Sunday, September 21 and 22, The Nation Associates will hold a conference, culminating in a public dinner at the Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles.

The subject: The Challenge of the Post-War World to the Liberal Movement.

The dinner speakers will be Hon. Thurman W. Arnold, Senator Wayne L. Morse, Dore Schary, Bartley C. Crum, Freda Kirchwey.

Apply for tickets and dinner reservations at the office of The Nation Associates, Room 1114, Taft Building, Hollywood 28.

constitution—then as now we wanted a “democratic Germany”—but we favored in every way those reactionary elements that made a travesty of the mild social democracy of Ebert and his colleagues. Hitler was not entirely mistaken when he condemned the men of Weimar as puppets of the Allies. Then as today, but not nearly so desperately as today, Germany needed a thorough revolution: the division of its big estates, the demolition of its ruling class, the smashing of its trusts, an end to the whole structure of power—industrial, agrarian, military—that degenerated during the bitter inter-war years into fascism.

In the Byrnes policy one finds no assurance that the cycle may not be about to begin again. *The Nation* has never favored the destruction of German industrial capacity as represented in the Ruhr and the Rhineland; we have urged that it be internationally controlled—for some years at least, socially owned, and exploited for the rebuilding of Europe. Factories and mines are as useful or as dangerous as the power that controls them. You can combine democracy with a prosperous industrial economy in Germany; you cannot combine it with cartels and the private exploitation of steel and coal. When General McNarney accused the Russians of smashing free enterprise and establishing socialism in the Soviet zone of Germany, he attacked them for their one great achievement there. And if Mr. Byrnes's speech presents, as I am afraid it does, the reverse shield of the McNarney report, his effort to bring Germany into “the free world of the West” will surely fail.

I do not exclude the possibility that the economic co-ordination of the British and American zones may modify to some extent the capitalist method applied by

our authorities. It cannot be said the British government has gone far toward carrying its socialist ideas into effect in Germany, but it has nationalized coal in the Ruhr and has put steel under the British military administration. Left opinion in England is openly fearful lest union of the zones may wipe out these progressive measures and tie British to American policy, since we are clearly the dominant economic partner. But one thing is certain: the Western powers must go beyond even the best efforts of the British so far, if they are to get the support of the only Germans we have any reason to trust.

The prospect of restoring private enterprise in Germany will appeal only to the class which financed the Nazi movement and will provide the respectable backing for the fascism of tomorrow. It will not win the millions of German workers who today sit idle waiting for a shattered system to get on its feet, or to the millions of refugees from the east who do not own a tin can in which to get a ladleful of free soup at the relief station.

Three possible prospects lie ahead for Germany. One: a new fascism, more Catholic than pagan, supported economically by the trusts (refinanced with American capital), and politically by the United States. Two: a planned, socialist economy, resting upon democratic institutions and following the broad leftward tendencies of Western Europe. Three: a planned economy integrated with that of Russia and controlled by the German Socialist Unity Party. Nothing in Mr. Byrnes's speech suggests that America will encourage the second course; our record in Germany so far, our own economic position and beliefs, our immediate economic interests all argue against that hope.

Shadows by Gaslight

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, September 5

THE shadow of things to come falls over a small, shabby hearing room two blocks down the street from the White House. The dry, technical words of gray-haired lawyers mask a powerful struggle over a revolutionary economic development. A new fuel, natural gas, is trying to invade the established market of coal, oil, and artificial gas. The prize is Detroit and Detroit's great automobile industry.

Two lusty young giants, Panhandle Eastern Pipelines Company and United Light and Railways Company, are

scrapping for the market. Grimly lined up against both of them are the established fuel interests, the businesses dependent on them, and their workers. They are wailing, “Economic displacement.”

This hearing before the Federal Power Commission foreshadows an even greater struggle which will take place when atomic power can be economically used as industrial power: the Federation of Atomic Scientists estimates that within two years an experimental pile will be generating power economically.

The atmosphere in the hearing room is drowsy. The FPC examiner, looking like a country judge, stares at the two long tables of lawyers through half-closed eyes. Three bored reporters sit listlessly at a little table. Forty-five lawyers are involved in this case, but only a fraction attend all the hearings. The lawyers patiently take their

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turn asking repetitious questions of the witnesses. What is the coal displacement of natural gas? What are the proposed rates? What are the costs?

Two separate struggles are going on. One is an old-fashioned economic slugging match between two \$100,000,000 corporations. Panhandle wants to expand its pipeline from Texas to supply industries in Michigan directly. United owns and operates the distributing company which buys natural gas from Panhandle under a contract expiring in 1951. United wants to build its own pipeline to serve Michigan and Wisconsin.

Panhandle gets its natural gas from fields in the Southwest and distributes it to industrial users throughout the Middle West. It already has one big customer lined up among the automobile makers—Ford, at Dearborn, Michigan. Joined with Panhandle in the conflict is another economic empire, the Commonwealth and Southern Company, which has contracted to buy unlimited gas from Panhandle. The two corporations plan to store gas jointly in Michigan in the off seasons. United is trying to prevent Panhandle from invading its territory and taking its customers, and wants to expand its own service in the Middle West.

The big prize is Detroit's potential consumption of 27,000,000,000 cubic feet of industrial gas a year, and the even larger market of 90,000,000,000 cubic feet that all of Michigan offers.

The city of Detroit is interested in the outcome of the fight. It wants cheap natural gas for both house heating and business use, and does not particularly care where it comes from. The states where the natural gas fields are located are worried about the steady outflow of a rich natural resource. States along the pipelines crawling up from the Southwest are afraid that the pipeline companies will forget customers within their borders when the big Detroit industrial market can be served. They have asked the Federal Power Commission to order the pipelines to share their fuel with all points on the system.

The army and navy have not yet appeared at the hearing, but the Federal Power Commission has word of their interest. Natural gas is a source of synthetic gasoline. It may be needed if the clash of power politics in the Near and Middle East slows the flow of oil from those areas.

Natural gas is the youngster in the fuel field. Pipelines transport it cheaply from fields in the Southwest to the industrial centers of the Middle West. Ninety million people and twenty thousand factories now use this fuel. Pipelines stretch as far as Philadelphia. Plans are down on paper for bringing natural gas to the East Coast and New York by utilizing the Big Inch and Little Inch pipelines. Hence the second struggle complicating the hearings.

The railroads which haul coal and oil are objecting. Forty-six lines have intervened in the case. Another peti-

tion lists the railways unions, the conductors, engineers, firemen, and switchmen. The National Coal Association and John Lewis's United Mine Workers are together on a joint intervening petition. Among other unions mixed up in this economic conflict are the Associated Coke Plant Employees, the International Chemical Workers, the Coal Yard Employees, the International Association of Machinists, and locals of teamsters, painters, boiler-makers, firemen, oilers, electrical workers, and operating engineers. The Lake Michigan docks are worried. Their revenue from coal barges might be cut off.

The hearings are one of the last stages of the battle. It has been fought in full-page newspaper advertisements, in state courts and utility-commission hearings, by lobbyists and politicians. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been tossed into public relations. After the Federal Power Commission makes its decision, which will probably be in December, the case may go on to the Supreme Court.

The FPC attorneys regard the issue as a fundamental one. They are aware that it may be the faint handwriting on the wall prefiguring the struggle to come when atomic power threatens all the conventional fuels, including natural gas. That is why they are asking the painstaking, minute questions that jam the record with figures and apparently obscure facts. As the Power Commission officials see it, there are several basic questions that must be answered. Shall an economic development be allowed to proceed without restraint? Or are all facets of our economy so closely interrelated that the evolution must be checked and slowed down? Should government protect the workers and officials and bondholders of an economic group threatened by the use of a new kind of power? Should the benefit to consumers be considered first? Is there a compensating factor? Would natural gas—or atomic power—offer as many jobs as coal and oil?

The answers to these questions will serve as guides to the new Atomic Control Commission, which President Truman has not named thus far. When atomic power invades the industrial field, the question of government monopoly of power will be argued in Congress, on the political stump, and in hearing rooms. And this invasion is not far off: scientists are working on several different approaches, any one of which may suddenly lead to cheap, controllable atomic power.

Plans for use of atomic power are misted over with official secrecy. But according to the best information, the government will experiment with atomic power in out-of-the-way places not now served by any reliable power system. There is talk of using atomic piles to provide a source of power for Alaska. Officials of the Manhattan District have testified before the Senate Atomic Committee that Oak Ridge, which took so much power out of TVA, is now ready to put power back in that giant, government-operated power system.

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Europe, Russia, and America

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

London, August

THERE is very considerable difference in the climate of opinion on Russia between Europe and America. Attending a worldwide Protestant conference on international relations here in Britain, I had assumed that the Continental fear of communism would be strongly expressed and might be similar to Roman Catholic sentiment. I found this far from being the case. The fear is present, but there is no hysteria. On the other hand, many suspicions were expressed by both the British and the Continentals that Catholicism or "big business" or preoccupation with the atomic bomb had made America hysterical.

If the difference between European and American opinion on the Russian issue were to be defined succinctly I should say that Europe is less certain than we are that the United Nations has much value, but is more certain than we are that it neither desires another war—this time with Russia—nor holds it inevitable. Several times I heard the suggestion that Europe must bend all its efforts to avoid a Soviet-American conflict, which, some fear, will be touched off by our friction with Russia in China. The British discount our enthusiasm for the United Nations as similar to their devotion to the League of Nations two decades ago and rather hint that the one will prove as irrelevant as the other. They would maintain the U. N. as a bridge with Russia, but they believe that if Russia refuses to cooperate in an international atomic authority, the United Nations can serve only very minimal ends.

Despite this skepticism there is a much stronger disposition in Europe to leave no stone unturned to avoid conflict with Russia. At the international conference I attended, the thesis propounded by a Swiss delegate that Nazism and communism were identical was rejected. The moral implications of this thesis were rejected because many delegates insisted that communism possessed creative aspects and no purely nihilistic ones, like Nazism. It was not denied, of course, that the Russian system is totalitarian or that one of the hazards to peace lies

in the fact that the Russian leaders are giving the Russian people a very false picture of the West and completely obscuring the almost pathetic desire for peace of the Western world.

The political implications of the thesis were rejected on the ground that Nazi dynamism, with its narrow geographic base, was driven by a demonry and by political necessities almost completely absent from the situation in the Soviet Union. I found a general disposition to attribute Russian truculence to Russian fears; a good deal of evidence was adduced by delegates from nations contiguous to Russia that this is the case. Some delegates were certain that Russian policy shifted after our dropping of the bomb without making them privy to the secret—that is, to the secret of our having the bomb and not the secret of the bomb itself. This opinion is also held in informed circles in Britain. It should be added, however, that Russian fears and mistrust expressed themselves secretly during the war in almost fantastic terms and that some of our dubious policies, such as the insistence upon "unconditional surrender," were designed to allay that mistrust. To Russian fears one must add Russian stupidities, for it is quite apparent that the Russian leadership has a distorted conception of democracy, partly due to the fact that all things are viewed through the spectacles of an inflexible Marxist dogmatism.

The great dangers which arise from these fears and stupidities and from Western stupidities which feed them are not denied; one could not detect great optimism about the possibility of avoiding catastrophe. There is, on the other hand, a minimal hope that if the Western world remains patient, it may be possible in time to change Russia's attitude. It is believed at least that the stakes are so high that every resource must be exhausted. After innumerable talks in both religious and political circles I have come to the conclusion that this European opinion has much to commend it and is, on the whole, superior to the general American approach both among our conservatives and among our non-Communist left.

One element in the strategy of patience would be to stop futile efforts to change what cannot be changed in Eastern Europe, regarded by Russia as its strategic security belt. It will do things there which will disturb the conscience of democrats. It will do some things, such as breaking up big landed estates, which will arouse the prejudices, rather than the conscience, of conservatives. But Western efforts to change conditions in Poland, or in Bulgaria, for instance, will prove futile in any event,

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partly because the Russians are there and we aren't, and partly because such slogans as "free elections" and "free enterprise" are irrelevant in that part of the world. Our copybook versions of democracy are frequently as obtuse as Russian dogmatism. If we left Russia alone in the part of the world it has staked out, we might actually help, rather than hinder, the indigenous forces which resist its heavy hand. There are indications, for instance, that while Polish foreign policy is completely controlled, Russia is forced to yield on many points to Polish opinion. This is even more true in Czechoslovakia.

It is generally recognized, of course, that a policy of *laissez faire* in Eastern Europe cannot apply to the West, for it is apparent that a strong Russian drive into the West would ultimately lead to war. Talk of letting Russia organize the whole of Europe is nonsense. For however ambiguous may be what we call "Western culture" or "Western civilization," expressed chiefly by democratic socialism on the political level and by the humanist and the Christian tradition culturally, it is both strong enough and will have a strong enough survival impulse to resist capitulation to Russia. Europe itself could not resist Russian expansion, if it should develop; but Britain and America certainly could. Whether one regards the will to resist as wise or unwise, one must regard it as inevitable.

European criticisms of America, in so far as they are non-Communist, are not directed against this will to resist. They spring rather from a fear that it will express itself unwisely, impatiently, and with too much emphasis upon capitalism or free enterprise as one of the resources of the West, both as a means of survival and as a reason for survival.

It must be clear that, while further encroachments of Russia in Western Europe, or in China, for that matter, might mean war, it is also apparent that the effort to keep Russian power in bounds must not be primarily military. The way to save Western Europe is to give it a sound economic basis for a sound political life. While it cannot be said that Britain has seen this fact too clearly in the past, the Labor Party is increasingly aware of the necessity of supporting the German Social Democrats and also of socializing property in western Germany, as part of a program of creating a viable economy. Many Europeans fear that America will resist or oppose this process of socialization—with how much justice I do not know, though obviously American opinion has never come to grips with the issue.

A policy of socialized property in western Germany is, of course, not enough by itself to restore health in Europe. No clear sense of direction is apparent in any Western political or social policy, apart from a gradual resistance to stubborn Soviet bargaining on every borderline issue. Although no one suggests that we should yield to Russia on the bargaining front, it is obvious that

we shall not gain our ends by following only a negative course of action. Progressive opinion in America must recognize that the West will have to develop a positive social strategy and not merely a military and negative one. If western Germany remains an economic desert and Western Europe an economic chaos, communism will spread despite the present unpopularity of Communist parties.

Molotov's recent about-face on the German issue undoubtedly sprang from the conviction that Germany is ultimately more important to Russia than is France. For Molotov was not afraid to alienate French opinion by insisting on the need of German unity. No equally bold comprehension of the situation has been shown on our side. Incidentally, the extreme fear of Russia in Germany is being gradually dissipated, not only because the Russian army has been brought under discipline and the plundering stopped, but also because the Russians have decided to harness rather than to destroy the industrial power under their control. They will, of course, not join Britain and America in uniting Germany economically today, preferring rather to exploit German industry for their own purposes and relying on their promise of ultimate unity to win German support. These Russian objectives may not be too plausible, but they make more sense than anything projected from the Western zones.

I think that on the whole the British left is correct in feeling that American labor and liberal opinion is too much preoccupied with strategic issues concerning Russia, and too little aware of the kind of social policy which must be applied if we are to save Western Europe. Perhaps America is not quite the wilderness of *laissez faire* political thought which the British left imagines it to be. There is more power in our progressive movements than is understood in Europe, though it is rather difficult to prove that after the recent costly "victorious defeat" on the OPA issue. But on foreign policy Europe is right in discounting us. American progressives and labor have no foreign policy. The C. I. O. cannot have one because the Communists are able to veto any policy which is more concrete than an expression of a fervent desire for Big Three unity. The A. F. of L. and many liberals are too filled with a simple Russian phobia to develop a constructive policy.

The sentiment in democratic Europe has convinced me that nothing is more important than the elaboration of a creative, progressive foreign policy for America which will neither play the militarist game of preaching war against Russia nor repeat the slogans of the fellow-travelers. It must above all help the nation to contribute to an economically healthy and politically sane Europe; and it must resist a policy in China which gives the reactionary elements in the Chinese government a new lease on power under the guise of American and Chinese partnership against communism.

Depression Round the Corner?

BY SEYMOUR HARRIS

THE United States has had a hundred years of alternating economic booms and depressions. We are now in the midst of a boom—and the depression is not far behind. Moreover, history shows that the greater the boom the greater the depression—which is an extremely discouraging thought, since the present boom has exceeded all others in duration and magnitude. Congress and the public must be awakened to the dangers that lie ahead, for only less complacency and more preparation to avert the crash will save us from another experience like that of the thirties. Economists now know much more about the causes of depressions—and the ways to prevent them—than they did two decades ago, but theirs, unfortunately, is once again the vain role of Cassandra. Congress and the public pay little attention.

What has the Administration done to avoid economic collapse? What to invite it?

Against the most immediate danger, inflation, the obvious defense is to keep demand down and increase supply. A powerful factor in creating demand is our \$300,000,000,000 of liquid assets—in 1939 we had only \$85,000,000,000. The correct policy would be to try to immobilize these assets for the present, to delay their use until the fifties and sixties, when there will almost certainly be inadequate demand. What is spent now stimulates inflation; what is used later will help stave off deflation.

Yet by weakening price control, prematurely removing control of demand (by relaxing priorities and the like), and cutting taxes, the government is encouraging spending now. Such measures make people increasingly aware that prices are rising and increasingly anxious to exchange liquid for illiquid assets. Various surveys have assured us that the fortunate holders of liquid assets will keep them as insurance against future distress, or to buy a home or a farm with later, or for the children's education, and that they will not use them for buying goods today. But history and common sense both tell us that as prices begin to rise 2 or 3 per cent a month, the public will realize that to buy now is to conserve the goods value of money and to buy tomorrow is to lose.

The results of a mistaken policy or of no policy at all

are already apparent in inflated demand. Investment is now running at the rate of \$25,000,000,000 a year. The country needs consumer goods but is getting an excess of capital goods, including rises in inventories. (I recall that at a WPB meeting in the fall of 1945 where the possibility of dropping inventory controls was being discussed, one of the country's leading bankers said that business would never again build up inventories recklessly. Business and bankers, he said, had learned their lesson in 1919-20—he had apparently forgotten about 1937.) This excess of investment could have been prevented if top officials in the WPB had not been disposed to turn our economy back to private enterprise prematurely. Free bidding for labor and materials to expand plants that are not greatly needed at the moment could have been averted.

Veterans want homes and should have them. Yet it is estimated that all residential construction will amount to only \$4,000,000,000 in 1946 and to \$6,600,000,000 in 1947—the total construction for those years is put at \$15,000,000,000 and \$20,000,000,000. The large unfilled demand for houses is bound to send the price up. We need housing, but we get department stores, office buildings, and hotels. One important reason for this is the suicidal and irresponsible lifting, in 1945, of L-41, the WPB order which allocated the use of building materials. In March, 1946, control was reestablished by Order No. 1 of the Veterans' Housing Program, but much damage had been done by then. In many cases, if excavation had begun, non-housing projects costly in the use of essential materials were allowed to proceed.

So long as demand greatly exceeds supply at reasonable prices, recourse must be had primarily to controls. Budgetary surpluses, however welcome *now*, can make only a minor contribution to the anti-inflation fight. But something might be accomplished through monetary controls. Why not, for example, sterilize the excess liquid assets—that is, government securities—held by banks? The Committee on Economic Development, Marriner Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board, and others have made suggestions along these lines, but the men responsible for policy have not acted on them.

Bank profits have risen disproportionately: from 1940 to 1945, according to the National City Bank, member banks' profits as a percentage of invested capital rose from 6.2 to 11 per cent, while all business showed a decline of from 7.8 to 7.6 per cent. Banks perform a simple function and take little risk: they manufacture money as the agent of the government. Why is it neces-

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sary to pay them an average rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on government securities and allow them to exchange these assets for cash, thus further increasing their abnormal earnings and further strengthening the inflationary forces? Why not issue to them securities yielding one-half or one per cent and require them to hold these securities largely against deposits? In this way further expansion of money and demand could be prevented.

Another solution for the problem of large security holdings by banks is also being urged upon the Administration: this is to raise instead of reduce the rate of interest. The theory is that the banks will then be able to dispose of securities to genuine savers, with a resulting contraction of monetary supplies. This seems a most unwise suggestion since the cost of the debt would be greatly increased and large profits would ultimately accrue to its holders (two-thirds of the securities are held by financial institutions and 10 per cent by corporations).

Not only should demand be curtailed, but much should and might be done to increase supplies. Speeding up the tempo of government sales would help. As late as April, 1945, the government had sold only \$271,000,000 worth of the plants in which it had invested some \$15,000,000,000. Only one-third of the surplus to be disposed of had been acquired by the government disposal agencies; only a small fraction had been sold.

More important is wage policy. Somehow or other the Administration will have to work out a way to prevent major strikes in industries affecting the whole economy. Such interruptions to work are a threat to any stabilization policy. They keep output low and unit costs correspondingly high and create an element of uncertainty which further reduces output and encourages price-spiraling.

The government's long-term policy is even more censurable than its failure to cope with inflation. Virtually nothing has been done to prevent the large collapse which now seems inevitable or to prepare the country to meet it. Congress is much more to blame than the Administration, which, if it has not urged appropriate measures with adequate vigor, has at least proposed them. Most of these measures would presumably raise demand in the coming decades of deficient demand. An adequate social-security program would raise demand by providing low-income groups with more purchasing power. More adequate coverage, liberalization of benefits, extension of federal aid, health and sickness insurance—these are the more important proposals. So far little has been done; and so long as action hinges on the approval of the House Ways and Means and the Senate Finance Committee as at present constituted, little can be expected.

After seven years of extremely favorable business conditions the Unemployment Compensation Fund has re-

serves of about \$7,000,000,000. A ten-year depression on the scale of that of the thirties would wipe out wages totaling \$250,000,000,000, or thirty-five times the reserves. And we assume a war will not pull us out this time. Even a depression only one-half as severe as the previous one would wipe out \$125,000,000,000 of wages. Obviously unemployment compensation alone cannot make up for the losses resulting from unemployment; it can, however, make a much more substantial contribution than it promises to now. Benefits are geared in many respects to the wage scales and prices of the thirties, when money wages were about half as high as they are now. Again, it is scandalous that under merit rating—based on a thoroughly repudiated theory that each firm controls the amount of unemployment—employers have been allowed to reduce their payments from 3 to 2 per cent of wages.

The program is meager indeed. How can one reconcile benefit payments of \$10 weekly for sixteen weeks—as provided in many states—with the current wage rates and the present distribution of liquid assets? (One survey indicates that the bottom 50 per cent had 3 per cent of these assets in 1945.)

Public works are another way of increasing demand when employment falls off. Yet despite the valiant efforts of the Roosevelt Administration, we have scarcely started to plan them. The federal government is prepared today to undertake public works of but several billion dollars, and state and local projects in the design stage amount to only \$6,000,000,000. Plans should be fully worked out on such a scale that once a serious decline sets in the government can spend from \$5,000,000,000 to \$10,000,000,000 a year. If these plans are not available when needed, the government will spend too little, too late, and too uneconomically.

For the present, public investment should be kept at a minimum. The mistake made in the prosperous twenties of spending too much and in the depressed thirties of spending too little should not be repeated in the forties and fifties.

Other ways of stimulating demand are open to us. Wages should be high enough to assure sales—sales at sufficiently high prices to make business profitable. In the twenties the rise in wage rates and the fall in prices did not keep up with declining costs; as a result profits piled up, and ultimately goods also. This is one of the great dangers of our impending inflation. Trade unions, on the other hand, must not misinterpret the Keynesian theory of high wages—a theory that recognizes the relation of wages to demand and hence to productivity but does not by any means dissociate wages from productivity.

Many of the policies which are to raise future demand invite attention to the financial repercussions of these policies and particularly to the rising public debt. In a

capitalist society financial arrangements quite properly have to be taken into account. Public works, social security, international loans, and similar measures are closely scrutinized to determine their effect on the public debt. The inadequacy of these programs stems from exaggerated fears of a rising public debt and a mistaken emphasis on financial considerations.

Those who are disposed to object to every proposal that increases the public debt should be reminded of the following: Public debt is financed out of income. Income depends on demand; a measure that raises demand also increases income. A total tax bill amounting to 30 per cent of the nation's income, plus a servicing charge on the debt requiring 3 per cent of the nation's income, is less burdensome when the national income is between \$150,000,000,000 and \$160,000,000,000, as it is today, than a tax bill of 6 per cent, plus a debt-servicing charge

of one-half of 1 per cent, was for the 1913 income of \$35,000,000,000. Let us note that in 1913 only \$33,000,000,000 remained for the private economy; now from \$130,000,000,000 to \$140,000,000,000 of disposable income remains.

In summary, we have a right to expect more vigorous leadership from the White House and an increasing awareness of the issues on the part of Congress. For the next year or two the objective of all policies should be to contain demand and expand supply. For 1948 and later years the government should be prepared with a sheaf of plans for supporting demand. Is it too much to expect that Congress should plan for the future at least as far ahead as squirrels? If Congress wants to save capitalism, now is the time; improvisations a few years from now will not be very effective.

Counter-Revolution in China

BY HUGH DEANE

THE civil war in China is essentially a counter-revolution. It is being waged because the reactionary factions of the Kuomintang, with which Chiang Kai-shek must be identified, understand that for them a real compromise with the Communists and liberals is out of the question, since a compromise would crack their political monopoly. Hence, like the émigrés of 1792, like the South in 1861, like the czarist and Spanish officers in 1918 and 1936, these defenders of the status quo are playing the traditional trump card of war.

During the eight years of struggle against the Japanese a shift in power took place in China which only armed force can reverse. In the vast social effort made possible by the war the Communist-led agrarian movement spread from a score of counties in the northwest over a third of China: across North China to the coast, into Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, into parts of the rich provinces of central China. Agrarian reforms, democracy, and peasant unions—backed by peasant armies—have shifted the balance of political power in these areas from the landlords to the peasants. This new power is the greatest challenge to the semi-feudal status quo in the long, tortured history of the Chinese Revolution.

Even in the areas policed by the Kuomintang, as the fascist-like assassinations and censorship testify, a sub-

stantial middle-class and intellectual opinion opposes the Kuomintang's cramping dictatorship. The Kuomintang has even felt obliged to move against the mild Chinese Association of Labor, which grew out of the "white" unions organized by the Kuomintang after the left-right split in 1927.

In China the Communists and liberals are in firm alliance, a unique phenomenon. The simplest explanation is that the Kuomintang has demonstrated repeatedly that it will not tolerate even a liberal opposition. The assassination of Li Kung-po, a leader of the Democratic League, and Professor Wen I-to, head of the School of Chinese Studies at the Southwest Associated University, and the recent arrests, beatings, and killings of scores of other well-known and unknown democrats have precedents extending back through the two decades of Kuomintang rule. Liberals understand that alone, without an army, they have no more future than did the Japanese liberals of the 1920's. The Communists, on the other hand, have given them freedom to work and a real share of the leadership in the rural governments of northern and central China.

Underlying this reason for Communist-liberal cooperation is the fact that communism is not an immediate issue in China. This is so not just because the Communists are willing to make temporary concessions in order to win the support of liberals; it has a solid basis in the primitive, semi-feudal character of the Chinese economy. The peasants are obviously interested not in socialism but in more land and lower rents and taxes; and the needs and desires of the peasants must be the major de-

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terminants of the Communist program. The aggregate of new power in China is primarily against feudalism and against the quasi-fascist institutions with which the Kuomintang has tried to bolster feudalism. It is being used to effect what the Communists call the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and what the Communists think this revolution should achieve approximates closely what liberals are working for. This does not mean, of course, that the Communists are just agrarian democrats, as some people still insist; they believe that eventually socialism will appear on the political agenda. To sum up, in China today, as in all revolutionary situations, there is no effective "third choice."

Against the broad coalition of Communists and liberals the Kuomintang is executing two offensives. In its own areas it is using all the familiar instruments of coercion and terror in an effort to destroy all opposition, almost entirely non-Communist. Almost the whole liberal press and many liberal voices have been silenced.

Concurrently, major concentrations of Kuomintang troops are seeking to surround, blockade, and annihilate Communist forces in particular key or vulnerable areas. Just as the Japanese in 1937 did not want war but only an incident, so the Kuomintang does not want an official civil war. It would prefer an undeclared, localized civil war while negotiations go on and on. While its troops attack in one area, it would like the truce maintained in others. Thus the Communists could be destroyed piecemeal, and the United States with less embarrassment could continue to give military aid.

But since this was obvious to the Communists, they have counteracted the Kuomintang offensives with offensives of their own, and so the fighting has spread. At the same time, especially after Chiang Kai-shek's six-point program of August 14, which was virtually a demand for surrender cloaked in the threadbare promise of "constitutional" government, the Communist press and radio became more militant, saying that civil war was an actuality and demanding with new sharpness that the United States cease its intervention. As might be expected, this enabled part of the American press to claim that the Communists had rejected Chiang's conciliatory offer and that the new party line was all-out civil war. A *New York Times* editorial on August 18, for example, declared that the Communists were "in revolt" and "burning their bridges behind them and inviting chaos."

Chiang apparently believes that the worst that can happen to him is not to win. If he destroys or decisively weakens the Communists, only the Soviet Union will be unhappy, and General Marshall can go home, a gallant and patient soldier who did his best. But if the Kuomintang armies should suffer defeats, Chiang thinks that American power will be used to prevent the Communists from exploiting them.

The cornerstone of Kuomintang policy is the conviction

that the United States will not tolerate a revolution in China, even the sort of revolution called for in Mao Tse-tung's "New Democracy." In truth, the grounds for this conviction are ample. In the Philippines, Korea, and Japan the United States obviously is supporting conservative and reactionary forces. In China, while purporting to act as an honest mediator, the United States has given vast military and economic aid to the Kuomintang. The most compelling motive of American policy seems to be restriction of Soviet influence in Asia, which means that the United States must play a counter-revolutionary role. There are no indications that the United States will change its policy in China, even if full-scale civil war strips away the pretenses used to conceal intervention. In the editorial referred to above, the *New York Times* implied plainly that the prime issue in China is "Soviet imperialism," which requires "a firm attitude" on the part of the United States—that is, continued intervention. The *Times* must consider it truly fortunate that by chance the United States has been maintaining troops in China to assist in the repatriation of the Japanese forces.

Results of the fighting thus far, however, bear out the conclusion that despite the Kuomintang's sixty American-trained and American-equipped divisions, its substantial air force of American planes, its small American-built navy, and its supply base in the United States, the position of the Communists is by no means weak. As the Japanese learned the hard way, military power is difficult to apply in China. In an industrial society the rural areas tend to be dependent on the urban areas, and when a city falls, the nearby countryside falls with it. The economic attraction of the urban commercial market, plus the existence of good roads which permit a city garrison to fan out over the countryside, makes military control relatively simple. In semi-feudal, non-industrialized China, however, with its subsistence agriculture and lack of communications, the countryside can exist independent of the towns and the capture of the county seat does not entail the capture of the county.

The Japanese never held much of the countryside of North China for any length of time. They were obliged to maintain large garrisons in every city and town and to defend constantly every mile of road and railway. They could not prevent the Communists from building armies and organizing almost self-sufficient governments in the rural areas. At least half a million Japanese troops were always tied down in "conquered" North China.

The Kuomintang has now inherited the Japanese military problem, which is essentially how to hold too much hostile territory with too few men. If the Kuomintang puts a company in every village, the companies will be destroyed separately; if it puts in a battalion—even if a battalion were adequate—there are not enough of them to go around. The Kuomintang will certainly use large-

scale terror, but a fair presumption is that it will prove no more effective for Chiang than for the Japanese.

The situation is different from the old days in Kiangsi, where the Communists could be contained and slowly squeezed. Now the large Communist armies have the breadth of China in which to fight their particular type of mobile warfare. Now the Communists are intrenched in what may be a decisive number of villages. Now they have well-tested political, economic, and military institutions with which to counteract the traditional weak-

nesses of peasant rebellions. Perhaps most important of all, in the dynamics of revolution power often is created in an incredibly short time, and armies are born in a fortnight.

Every American will be a factor in the bitter struggle ahead, for American-made arms are adding thousands of new names to the long roster of Chinese revolutionary dead: the United States is intervening in China to the same effect that it non-intervened in Spain—the frustration of a revolution.

Placebos in Medicine—and Elsewhere

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

THERE was an interesting but disturbing report in the *New York Journal of Medicine* for August 1, 1946. It dealt with a round-table discussion by the members of the Department of Pharmacology and of Medicine of Cornell University Medical College and the New York Hospital. The subject was the use of placebos in therapy.

The Latin word *placebo* means "I will please"; as a medical term it is defined as "a medicine adapted rather to pacify than to benefit the patient." A pure placebo is something like a bread pill or a sugar pellet. And according to Dr. DuBois of Cornell, "sugar pills have been found to be more effective if they are colored either pink or blue, or better still, mottled."

The power of placebos seems to be tremendous: "For example, we found recently that placebos have a marked effect in preventing seasickness." "In a recent study Seidel and Abrams found that hypodermics of saline were just as effective as vaccines against chronic rheumatoid arthritis." During the discussion Dr. Harold G. Wolff reported to his audience on the power of suggestion in influencing the action of drugs as shown by pain-threshold experiments—tests in which an area of skin blackened with india ink is exposed to heat from a 1,000-watt bulb; the sensation of pain from the heat of the bulb can then be exactly measured. Analgesic properties have been conferred by suggestion on sugar of milk and removed from typical analgesic drugs such as aspirin.

Dr. Mark Lipkin treated patients with Raynaud's syndrome with the help of an electrical apparatus in

which the current was not turned on. He simply let the dials click. "Some improvement was reported in every case, and the results were excellent in six cases." A study of the effect of aminophylline and theobromine on cardiac pain in ambulant patients with coronary disease showed that sugar brought improvement in 25 per cent of the cases and the potent theobromine in 22 per cent. The doctors were so much puzzled by the patients' unshakable devotion to the sugar medicine that they went back to check on whether an active agent of some sort might not have been put into the prescription by mistake.

Typical reactions of patients to sugar pills are: I sleep better. My appetite is improved. My breathing is better. It makes me stronger. My bowels are better. I can walk farther without pain in my chest.

Now such findings are not entirely new, but the attitude of these distinguished doctors to the ethical implications of prescribing sugar as medicine is somewhat surprising: "I think we all agree that placebos are useful and should be used. . . ." This explanation was given: "Any pill, whether it be sugar or medication, is in part placebo because it is a symbol of the doctor. . . . When the patient has a little pillbox with tablets to take, that is an interpolation of the doctor. He can carry that much of the doctor with him, and it is effective. The pill is the symbol of the doctor's unspoken or spoken words, 'I will take care of you.' The pill also fulfils the patient's need to feel dependent. . . . A bitter or even nauseating placebo fills a need for punishment. Everyone feels the need for punishment some time. Last of all, the pill supports the desire to get well."

These psychological defenses for the prescription of placebos are probably sound. But if we have to decide whether to call the use of placebos a legitimate and "high-grade" therapeutic method—as these physicians termed it—or a fraud, I vote passionately for "fraud."

Placebos are an indication of the ignorance of physicians, a proof that medicine is not yet a true science

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but still deeply overshadowed by magic, taboos, anxieties, and primitive rituals. There can be no choice in the medicine of the future between complete truthfulness and the continuation of deception. Suggestion and superstition ought to be the privilege of quacks, and quacks only. Any kind of alliance with fraud breeds more fraud. The end does not justify the means. As one of the speakers—Dr. C. H. Wheeler—rightly remarked, "I would like to call attention to the fact that many of the placebos which are used are dangerous to the patient, and that many doctors, when they want to give a patient something, instead of giving him something harmless, like to inject something into the veins or muscles, as calcium, or vitamins, or sodium cacodylate. I think that it is a practice which cannot be sufficiently condemned. It is horrifying to find how commonly that is done."

Not only medicine but our whole social and political life is infested by placebos ("pacifying rather than ben-

efiting"). The assumption that the lower the patient's intelligence the more completely he may be satisfied by a placebo is entirely false. Dr. H. Gold said, "I have made it a rule to distrust the so-called 'intelligent people.'" Such persons crave placebos more than the less intelligent. Medicine is increasingly infiltrated—like life in general—by dishonesties, hiding behind pseudo-scientific and psychological techniques. Placebos are a dangerous weapon in the age-old love-hate relationship between doctor and patient. Having practiced as a doctor for many years and, just recently, having been a patient myself, I resolve that I will not treat patients who expect placebos from their doctor, and I will not use the services of a doctor who prescribes placebos. Once one agrees to the principle of pacifying rather than benefiting there can be no limit to fraud and deception. In my opinion the use of placebos should be stamped out in every sphere of life.

The Voice of America—Who Listens?

BY J. Q. RIZNIK

THE United States Department of State has won the right to stay in the short-wave propaganda business for another year and, deftly covering up a key weakness of the operation, has for the first time revealed that it considers short-wave radio a political weapon of prime importance and a competitive necessity. Now the department is confronted with the jobs of justifying the expenditure of some ten million dollars for radio and proving the effectiveness of its short-wave theory.

In getting from Congress the funds to continue international broadcasting, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes for the first time put into the record a realistic appraisal of the intent and purpose of the short-wave operations. In one of the most forthright declarations on international radio ever made by a high government official, Byrnes said:

Radio is our one means of projecting information about America across frontiers blocked by political censorship. Such frontier censorship, I regret to say, obtains in varying degrees of severity throughout a substantial portion of the earth. . . . Today forty-nine countries or their dependencies are engaged in international broadcasting. The British are operating at a level considerably above their pre-war effort, and considerably higher than we contemplate. The Soviet Union

is already very active in this field and has recently ordered thirty high-powered transmitters from this country. . . .

The undergirding of our international negotiations . . . consists of popular understanding abroad of America and its policies. . . . I am convinced that an international information program can contribute to our security just as can an army or navy or an air force. . . . If you agree that peace—like war—must be waged, and I do believe it is so, then we must have instruments appropriate for the waging of peace.

Byrnes disclosed that the State Department is preparing to broadcast in Russian and went on to say:

Radio is the best available means for reaching large populations which are deprived of information from America for lack of other communications facilities, or by inability to pay for information from commercial agencies, and by illiteracy.

Throughout great regions our radio transmitters have come to be known as the Voice of America. I would regard it as little less than tragic for us to abandon now this remarkable instrument, with all its potentialities for advancing understanding, and thus advancing the cause of peace.

During the next six months the United States government's short-wave operations will be closely studied by United Nations radio experts, who are working on a proposal for a United Nations worldwide broadcasting project. At the same time commercial radio executives in this country have put their finger on what they believe is a key weakness in the case for international broadcasting.

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They say that the Secretary of State has unrealistically glossed over that weakness and failed to face the facts.

The complaint of those who have appraised United States short-wave transmissions and questioned the effectiveness of the government information program can, in essence, be presented in this two-line paraphrase:

They shoot an arrow into the air;
It falls to earth, they know not where!

If you shoot a short-wave program into the air, say the realistic radio men, and you don't know *who* is listening—*how many* and *what kind* of people—then the money spent for such broadcasting is, literally, thrown away.

Because the United Nations radio project, even in the discussion stage, needs facts on short-wave listening, this writer went after them. As a result, it can be unequivocally recorded that *there is no one in the United States, in the government or out, who can authoritatively say how many persons listen to the radio Voice of America.*

When Byrnes declared that "the Voice of America is the best available means for reaching large populations which are deprived of information from America by lack of other communications facilities, or by inability to pay for information from commercial agencies and by illiteracy," he either overlooked the facts available or was not informed that figures, gathered by his department, do not bear him out. State Department information specialists and statisticians say they are at a loss to explain why their facts and figures have until now been kept from public examination.

More eloquent than many words are the figures which are presented graphically below. They deal with some of the areas chosen for our government's short-wave transmissions (known technically as "target areas"), but

similar data are available for every part of the world. For each "target" there is a series of State Department directives which control the type and frequency of programs aimed at it.

While the figures tell a startling story, the story is not complete unless it is *stated, and stated emphatically, that 75 per cent of all short-wave sets everywhere in the world (a conservative estimate) are owned and operated by what can be described as the upper classes.* The majority of the world's short-wave listeners are, in United States terms, members of the upper-bracket income and intellectual class. Thus when our government leaders—and there have been many besides the Secretary of State—speak inspirationally of the radio Voice of America reaching "the ordinary people" and "illiterates" of foreign countries, they either overlook or are ignorant of the facts.

The figures, here presented for public examination for the first time, suggest many questions usually ignored by those interested in our future international short-wave operations. Here are half a dozen which must eventually be answered:

If the United States must compete with forty-nine other countries for a radio audience abroad, is it not imperative that our short-wave transmissions equal or exceed those of competitor nations in scope?

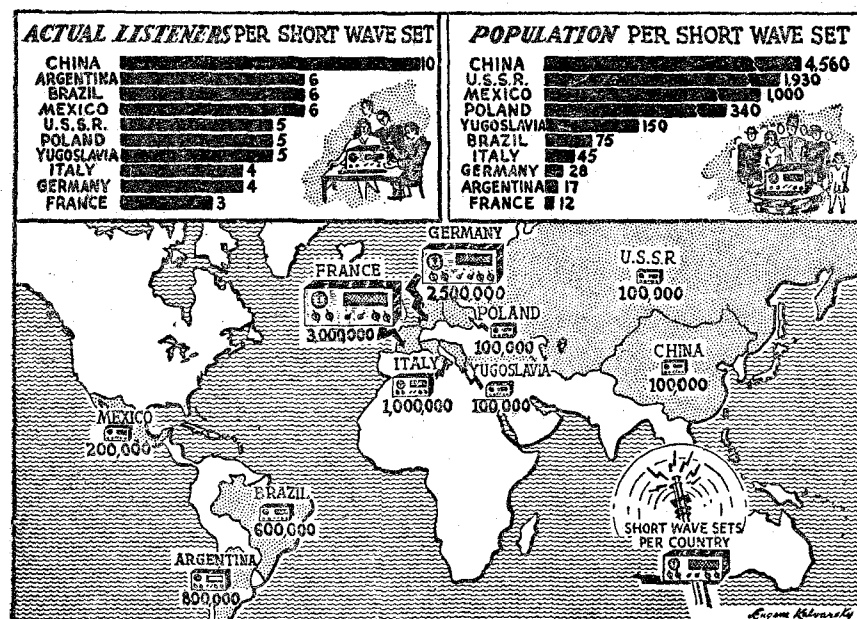
If the Voice of America is to be used as a political weapon, is it not mandatory that we reach the ears and minds of the common people of the world rather than the so-called upper classes, who, by their very position, already accept the tenets of free enterprise?

If the British, French, Russian, and other Socialist and semi-Socialist states surpass, in number of transmitters and programs, the output of our own government, which speaks for the American way of life, how effective can the Voice of America be as a competitive political weapon?

To increase the number of short-wave receivers in the world, should not the government inaugurate a priority plan for production of inexpensive radio receivers and make them available at little or no profit in those countries which are primary targets for the Voice of America?

If the United States is forced, by the nature of the competitive pattern set by other countries, into continued use of short-wave transmissions, is there not as much danger of a radio race developing among the big powers as there is of an atom-bomb and armament race?

Could the United Nations regulate, control, or possibly take over the use of radio words as weapons of peace among the nations of the world?



Nehru Takes Control

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, September 3

YESTERDAY'S inauguration of the Indian interim government was a political event of immense significance. Nehru's "provisional national government"—to use his expression—is made up of twelve members: seven from the Congress Party, two nationalist Moslems not belonging to the Moslem League, a Sikh, a Parsee, and a Christian. Two seats are being kept vacant for the present. Unless Jinnah and Nehru reach a basic understanding, these will be filled by two more nationalist Moslems appointed by Nehru. But Congress leaders are standing by their assertion that they are willing to reconstitute the entire government on the basis set forth by the Cabinet mission and the Viceroy during the summer—namely, six Congress men, five Moslem Leaguers, and three representatives from other minorities.

Within a few hours of the government's taking office Gandhi made a statement that though this was not independence it opened the door to complete freedom. Whatever India's quarrel with Britain in the past, said Gandhi, the latter merited gratitude for its willingness to come to an understanding with the Indian leaders.

Nehru as Chief Minister outlined to a group of newspapermen the plans of his government and the urgent problems that call for its energetic attention. He emphasized that the government would function as a Cabinet pledged to carrying out a definite program and to working out its problems by joint consultation. The achievement of independence is naturally the primary objective of the new government. But while pressing for this it will tackle the vast and intricate tasks of feeding, clothing, housing, educating, and safeguarding the health of 400,000,000 Indians.

Within the limitations imposed by the existing constitution Nehru's Cabinet will try to establish precedents that will in effect introduce several features of responsible government. For instance, Nehru told the permanent secretaries of the several departments that the right of direct approach to the Viceroy which they had enjoyed in the past must cease as of today. The Cabinet mission and the Viceroy agreed, when the point was raised by Congress leaders, that there would be no interference with the government's administration of internal affairs and that its external status would be that of Canada or

Australia. Only those who have observed the official machinery in operation can appreciate how great a change has taken place. Previously higher permanent officials, mostly British, dealt directly with the Viceroy and through him with the British Cabinet in London. Even during the perilous days of the war vital decisions were delayed because of the absence of sanction from London. The center of political influence has now shifted from London to Delhi, and the men who will make decisions are not the permanent officials but Nehru and his colleagues. How far these permanent officials, whom the Congress Party has bitterly opposed through the years, will succeed in making the necessary readjustments one cannot say. Senior men will probably retire; younger men may reconcile themselves to the new regime.

The installation of the Congress leaders in office is the beginning of a new era. But it is also the end of an old one—of collusion between the Moslem League and the British Tories. Last week there was published in London a sensational report of correspondence between Churchill and Jinnah, together with a denial by the latter which was not convincing. Apart from the correspondence, there was the assurance, first given in 1940 by Lord Linlithgow, then the Viceroy of India, that no fresh political advance would be made without the consent of all parties. This Jinnah interpreted as a veto over Congress conferred on the Moslem League, and he used it with considerable skill throughout the war.

Attlee's blunt statement in Parliament last March that a minority could not prevent the advance of the majority deeply disturbed the Moslem leader. Throughout the subsequent thirteen weeks of negotiations with the Labor Ministers and the Viceroy, Jinnah made his moves with canny precision. At last he blundered by publishing prematurely his correspondence with the Viceroy, the effects of which have been disastrous for the League. It was clear that the British government was determined to reach a settlement with the Congress leaders, preferably with Jinnah's cooperation, but if he remained intransigent, without it.

Since the end of June Jinnah has steadily pursued a policy of increasing recklessness and irresponsibility. First came the withdrawal of the Moslem League's support of British long-term plans for India. Then followed the first step in the "direct action" program. August 16 was fixed as the date for the celebration throughout India by the Moslems of "Direct Action Day." For weeks inflammatory speeches and broadcasts proclaimed a holy war against unbelievers. The culmination was an orgy of mass murder in Calcutta, with the Moslem League Min-

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istry openly encouraging the campaign. The Hindus and Sikhs, infuriated by indiscriminate assaults, retaliated with equal fanaticism. Five thousand dead and fifteen thousand injured in three days of unrestrained gangsterism—this was the appalling total in Calcutta.

Had this disaster not occurred, Jinnah's direct-action program might have unfolded with impunity. Calcutta compelled him to revise his plans. His best friends, including some British business men, were unqualified in their criticisms. They begged him to return to the path of cooperation, to revise his latest decision rejecting the constitution, and to join the interim government on the terms still open to him. Lord Wavell, ignoring Calcutta's ghastly experience, repeated those terms on the day the announcement of the new government was made. Nehru, on behalf of the Congress Party, has expressed his willingness to reconstruct the government and distribute portfolios in a manner that would give the Moslem League an equitable share of power.

There is no indication that Jinnah will give these appeals serious consideration. Some of his lieutenants are frankly and openly apprehensive that direct action by the Moslems may lead to irretrievable disaster. They seem, however, to be in a minority. Yesterday was described by Moslem League papers and speakers as a "black day." Fiery speeches have been made in some centers suggesting a complete boycott—political, economic, and social—of both the British and the Hindus, and defiance of measures prohibiting demonstrations and the possession of dangerous weapons. The rioting in Bombay was insignificant in comparison with Calcutta's, but was sufficient to convey the warning that India's present atmosphere can easily be disturbed. Congress leaders are willing to be fair, even generous, toward the Moslems, but they are not prepared to indorse a policy of appeasement of the Moslem League. One of Nehru's Moslem colleagues was prevented from taking office yesterday by a murderous assault by fanatical terrorists. Jinnah's condemnation of the attack had little real effect, and threats are being made against other Moslems who have had the courage to differ with him.

The conventions which Nehru is determined to establish transforming the Viceroy's Executive Council into a Cabinet under his leadership will make it even more difficult for Jinnah to retrace his steps. Last June he began to lose the tactical advantage he had enjoyed during the war of exercising a veto power over Congress. His blunders have virtually isolated him and the Moslem League, driving him into a dangerously perverse mood.

Congress leaders have a most anxious time ahead. They have, however, one significant achievement to their credit: Jaiprakash Narain, leader of the Socialist group and a man of very considerable influence, has finally been persuaded to join the Congress executive. He will exercise some restraint on the radicals in his own group, who

have been a source of great embarrassment to the Congress governments in the provinces. Also, as evidence of withdrawal of British control over the administration accumulates, these elements will rally around Nehru's government. Jinnah's challenge may prove formidable, but it will not be irresistible.

In the Wind

APPRECIATION IS DUE. From the Marshall, Missouri, *Democrat-News*: "To the people who voted for me, my sincere thanks. My wife thanks the ones who did not vote for me. She says I have so many friends, why get in that office and make a lot of enemies? (Signed) Felix Baker." Mr. Baker was a candidate for county judge and lost.

FURRINERS! DRAT 'EM. The *Wall Street Journal* reports that California orange growers say their future is menaced by "foreign competition." They mean Florida competition. These Californians have become used to thinking of their southeastern rivals as another country. No Florida oranges are ever admitted to California (bug danger, inspectors explain), and Florida won't let in any California oranges during its growing season.

WE SUSPECTED AS MUCH. A letter to the editor of the Pontiac, Michigan, *Daily Press* complained: "Of the quite large number of relatives and acquaintances of mine who do not think, gamble, or use tobacco, I am sure that there are few, if any, who lean to the left."

PLAIN TALK. The Toledo *Blade*, through circumstances involving the transposition of a line in a caption, reported that Supreme Court Justice Harold Burton "received the honorary degree of bickerings" at Western Reserve commencement.

OLD-TIME RELIGION. Want ad in the Bradentown, Florida, *Herald*: "Wanted—An elderly Christian couple to live in our apartment. No children or grandchildren or pets. Yours in Christ."

AMEN, BROTHER. Editor Frederick Sullens of the Jackson, Mississippi, *News*, believes folks in other states should get down on their knees and thank God that Bilbo "carried nothing but Mississippi." But pity the "pore folks" in Washington. Bilbo is chairman of the Senate District of Columbia Committee.

MAYBE HE KNEW THE BOSS. Reviews of the new book "An Honorable Titan: A Biographical Study of Adolph S. Ochs," by Gerald W. Johnson, revealed interesting and divergent opinions. Lewis Gannett of the New York *Herald Tribune* rather fancied the book, but Orville Prescott in the New York *Times* says the book about his late publisher lacks the qualities of notable biographies and doesn't put the reader on familiar terms with him.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Dilemma of the Churches

RELIGION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER. A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION. By J. Milton Yinger. Duke University Press. \$3.

CLEAR, cool Courage"—this advertisement of a London brewery should be the motto of all sociologists. Or, to quote another British authority, Matthew Arnold, the aim of culture is "turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits." Milton Yinger has courage and culture. I can think of no higher praise.

Courage is not incompatible with caution. A *philosophe* said: "Christianity is very strong. It is good for at least another two hundred years." Yinger says: "Those who have gone most deeply into the problem are in rather general agreement that religion will continue to be a powerful force during the foreseeable future." And clearness of thought may lead us to the candid admission that certain concepts of vital importance are not clear. Yinger refuses to define religion. He further refuses to discriminate between what he calls the traditional and the intrinsic in religion. This deliberate vagueness does not invalidate his study, for in spite of his title his subject is not religion at all; it is *The Dilemma of the Churches*.

A fundamental distinction. This is the third important book I have read within the last few weeks in which Hamlet is played without the Prince. The "religion" Yinger discusses is Christianity. And to Jesus Himself there are only two allusions. First: "Powderly, head of the Knights of Labor, made the statement that if the Sermon on the Mount were preached without reference to its author, the preacher would be warned not to repeat such Utopian ravings, and the fashionable pews would be emptied." And second: "We need not attempt to discover whether the founder of Christianity was a pacifist." This indifference can be justified only if we accept the author's theory that the origin of an institution does not much matter, that what concerns us is its development; here the church, not religion.

I believe the second half of the title is not accurate either. "The struggle for power"—reminiscent of John Strachey—evokes problems which are not discussed in this book. We are thinking of "power" as an element in world affairs: the Vatican is a "power," although not one of the Big Three. If we apply the term to the conflict of parties or classes, "power" means mastery, control; and religion's struggle for power would mean theocracy. Now theocracy is not a dead issue. It remains the basic doctrine of the Catholic church; it inspires Jehovah's Witnesses, the Mormons, the Covenanters, the Zionists, Jinnah, and Saudi Arabia. But what Yinger discusses is far more modest. It is "how to win friends and influence people." A radical religion attracts the cranks and repels the sane. In order to do good, one must not be a do-gooder or a perfectionist; one must be realistic.

This conflict between the ideal and its material instrument

Yinger typifies (my summary has to be very crude) in the words "church" and "sect." The church is an institution; it has vested interests; it cannot afford to "empty the fashionable pews." The sect is filled with the spirit, and preaches the faith, *ruat caelum*. The church satisfies the haves, the sect the have-nots. Naturally, every church was once a sect, but it conquered the world on the worldly plane. The sect has a soul to save.

The distinction is important; the terms are ambiguous. The sect spirit (in Yinger's sense) is manifest in many churches—particularly among the mystics and the regulars of the Catholic church. Many "sects" (in the usual sense) are small churches strongly attached to theological niceties, ritual, and organization. I should prefer: "the ecclesiastical and the prophetic tendencies."

Yinger discusses next, in two very substantial chapters, Max Weber's famous thesis: The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. His critique is a model of fearless moderation. Most of the facts adduced by Weber are incontrovertible and indeed obvious: there seems to be a pre-established harmony between Calvinism and the profit system, including the small number of the elect. But Yinger quotes Sombart to the effect that modern capitalism was born in 1202—half a millennium, by the way, ahead of the Industrial Revolution. It certainly was admirably developed in Florence, which did not turn Protestant; and the best descriptions of the profiteer are Lesage's "Turcaret" and Balzac, *passim*, with the background of a Catholic society. It is said that there were not a few disinterested, unworldly characters among the Puritans. Jewish, Catholic, Protestant, Chinese, Parsee, Japanese capitalists are in pretty thorough agreement about the eternal verities. "The body of historical evidence," says Yinger, "leads us to the conclusion that the description of social change requires the eschewing of all one-factor deterministic theories." There may be much truth in Bossuet's "providential" interpretation, in the Marxian conception of class conflict, in Mahan's doctrine of sea power, in Turner's emphasis on the frontier. The fallacy begins when we neglect "a careful analysis of the many interacting factors at work in every cultural setting." I might add, "of the unrelated factors." Coincidence, mere chance, plays an enormous part in history. Systems are the opiate of the learned: they assuage the malady of thought. When you are a good Marxian or a true Mohammedan, your mental worries are over; you may slumber in peace.

This clears the way for the two great examples of "the churches' dilemma"—*The Economic Ethics of Contemporary Churches* and *The Churches and War*. It seems pretty clear that the original Christian doctrine was communism, still practiced by the religious orders which attempt to lead the perfect Christian life. It is even clearer that for fifteen hundred years at least the church condemned *interest*, which is the essence of capitalism. And, to be as cautious as Yinger, there is a reasonable presumption that the spirit of Christianity is antagonistic to war. But it would be disastrous for the

ideal if the church, its champion on earth, should systematically be on the losing side. If a profitable sin has to be committed—imperialistic conquest, or the grabbing of natural resources—it had better be committed by a virtuous man: why leave all the good things to Satan? The result is that, in their noble quest for influence, the churches become the auxiliaries of power—monarchy in the old days, nationalism and capitalism in ours. Says Arthur L. Swift Jr.: "It is, I believe, beyond question that organized religion in the United States, by virtue of its vastly increased wealth, is so closely interrelated with the whole capitalistic system, so committed to the sacredness of private property, and to the notion that financial success is in some vague way an indication of divine favor, that it cannot help but consider any real attack upon capitalism as a threat to its own security." The situation is changing. Labor is asserting its power, and the most conservative churches are "muscling in" on the program of labor: it is the recognition of a *fait accompli*.

Every writer, however careful, has his personal equation. Yinger presumably grew to full consciousness between the wars, when it was the fashion to flout and deride all "atrocities." The eagerness to believe them, on the scantiest evidence, was no doubt part of the war hysteria. But this does not dispose of all the stories. After all, war itself is "atrocious": the Germans called it *Schrecklichkeit* and Sherman called it hell. War means torturing your opponent into submission. The worst atrocity in world history was our use of the atomic bomb without first giving the Japanese a warning, a demonstration, and a choice. It was William II, not the Reverend Dwight Hillis, who gave currency to the term "Huns." Germany's crime was to put its faith in war as an instrument of foreign policy, with Frederick the Great, Clausewitz, and Bismarck. What is the meaning of "*Durch Eisen und Blut*," if not "atrocious"? And what is power politics but the threat of "giving 'em hell"?

Yinger's conclusion is, like the whole body of his book, extremely guarded: "In terms of the present study, it would seem to be an error to discount completely the influence of the purely religious idea working in history, and equally an error to fail to see the limitations of its power and the frequency with which it is dominated by other interests. The limitations are partly intrinsic: the religious interest is dominant in only a small minority of persons." This is true of everything above the humdrum plane. Genius, passion, the mystic experience are rare. We know them at second or third hand, and diluted. And yet, is it not they, and they alone, that make history?

ALBERT GUÉRARD

No Longer and Not Yet

THE DEATH OF VIRGIL. By Hermann Broch. Translated by Jean Starr Untermeyer. Pantheon Books. \$6.50.

HUME once remarked that the whole of human civilization depends upon the fact that "one generation does not go off the stage at once and another succeed, as is the case with silkworms and butterflies." At some turning-points of history, however, at some heights of crisis, a fate similar to that of silkworms and butterflies may befall a generation of men. For the decline of the old, the birth of the new,

is not necessarily an affair of continuity; between the generations, between those who for some reason or other still belong to the old and those who either feel the catastrophe in their very bones or have already grown up with it, the chain is broken and an "empty space," a kind of historical no man's land, comes to the surface which can be described only in terms of "no longer and not yet." In Europe such an absolute interruption of continuity occurred during and after the First World War. All the loose talk of intellectuals about the necessary decline of Western civilization or the famous lost generation, as it is usually uttered by "reactionaries," has its basis of truth in this break, and consequently has proved much more attractive than the corresponding triviality of the "liberal" mind that puts before us the alternative between going ahead and going backward, an alternative which appears so devoid of sense precisely because it still presupposes an unbroken chain of continuity.

Speaking merely in terms of European literature, this gap, this opening of an abyss of empty space and empty time, is most clearly visible in the disparity between the two greatest masters of our time, Marcel Proust and Franz Kafka. Proust is the last and the most beautiful farewell to the world of the nineteenth century, and we return to his work, written in the key of the "no longer," again and again when the mood of farewell and of sorrow overwhelms us. Kafka, on the other hand, is our contemporary only to a limited extent. It is as though he wrote already from the vantage point of a distant future, as though he were or could have been at home only in a world which is "not yet." This puts us at a certain distance whenever we are to read and discuss his work, a distance which will not grow smaller, even though we may know that his art is the expression of some future world which is our future, too—if we are to have any future at all.

All other great European novelists and poets find their place and their standard of measurement somewhere in between these dead masters. But Hermann Broch's book falls in a different category from the rest. That he has in common with Proust the form of the inner monologue and with Kafka the utter and radical renunciation of entertainment, as well as a preoccupation with metaphysics, that he shares with Proust a deep fondness for the world as it is given to us, and that he shares with Kafka the belief that the "hero" of the novel is no longer a character with certain well-defined qualities but rather man as such (for the real life of the man and poet Virgil is no more than an occasion for Broch's philosophical speculations)—all this is true, and the histories of literature may say it later.

What is more important, at least at this moment, is that Broch's work—through its subject matter and through its entirely original and magnificent poetic diction—has become something like the missing link between Proust and Kafka, between a past which we have irretrievably lost and a future which is not yet at hand. In other words, this book is by itself the kind of bridge with which Virgil tries to span the abyss of empty space between the no longer and the not yet. And since this abyss is very real; since it has become deeper and more frightful every single year from the fateful year of 1914 onward, until the death factories erected in the heart of Europe definitely cut the already outworn thread with which we still might have been tied to a historical entity of

more than two thousand years; since we are already living in the "empty space," confronted with a reality which no preconceived traditional idea of the world and man can possibly illuminate—dear as this tradition may have remained to our hearts—we must be profoundly grateful for the great work of poetry which clings so desperately to this one subject.

Curiously enough, very little in Broch's earlier work indicates the future author of the "Death of Virgil." "The Sleepwalkers," apart from its qualities as a novel, shows only that its author is fed up with story-telling, thoroughly impatient with his own work: he tells his readers that they had better find for themselves the end of the story, and neglects character and plot in order to squeeze into his book long speculations about the nature of history. Up to a certain date Broch was a good, playful, amusing story-teller, not a great poet.

The date which made of Broch a poet seems to have coincided with the last stage of darkening in Europe. When the night arrived, Broch woke up. He awoke to a reality which so overwhelmed him that he translated it immediately into a dream, as is fitting for a man roused in night. This dream is "The Death of Virgil."

Critics have said that the book is written in lyrical prose, but this is not quite correct. The style, unique in its concentrated tension, bears more of a resemblance to those invocations of the Homeric hymns in which the God is summoned over and over again, each time with another residence, another mythological setting, another place of worship—as though the worshiper had to make sure, absolutely sure, that he could not miss the God. In the same way Broch invokes Life, or Death, or Love, or Time, or Space, as if he wanted to make sure, absolutely sure, that he would not miss the mark. This gives the monologue its passionate urgency, and brings out the tense, concentrated action of all true speculation.

In the "O's" of the invocations are imbedded the exciting descriptions, the extensive landscape painting in which the work is so very rich. These read like a long and tender song of farewell to all Western painters, and they transcend through their form of invocation these described objects, as though they embraced all that is beautiful or all that is ugly, all that is green or all earthly dustiness, all nobility or all vulgarity.

The subject of Broch's book, as the title indicates, is the last twenty-four hours of Virgil's life. But death is treated not merely as an event but as the ultimate achievement of man—whether in the sense that moments of dying are one's last and only chance for knowing what life was all about or in the sense that it is then one passes judgment upon one's own life. This judgment is not self-accusation, for it is too late for that, nor self-justification, for it is, in a way, too early for that; it is the ultimate effort to find the truth, the last definitive word for the whole story. This makes of the last judgment a human affair, to be settled by man himself, though at the limits of his forces and possibilities—as if he wanted to spare God this whole trouble. The "no longer and not yet" on this level means the no longer alive and the not yet dead; and the task is the conscious achievement of judgment and truth.

This grandiose concept of death as an ultimate task instead

Writing in prison in 1941, France's Socialist ex-premier put down his statement of democratic faith for a new generation. Here, unchanged, are those amazingly prophetic words—a shrewd analysis of French politics and a democratic program which must affect the world's future. "This is a high-minded book . . . and it comes like a breath of fresh air."

—*The New Yorker*. \$2.50

LEON BLUM'S FOR ALL MANKIND

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THOSE unknown North Americans—living in our midst yet separated from us by language, history, and religion—are here interpreted by an American observer and historian. "He has rendered this brief incisive account of the cooperation and conflicts between two races, politically united, but otherwise vastly unlike, with lucidity, coolness and, I believe, fairness."—EDWARD ANGLY, N. Y. *Herald Tribune* \$2.00

Mason Wade's THE FRENCH-CANADIAN OUTLOOK

of as an ultimate calamity prevents Broch's speculations from falling into the trap of modern death-philosophy, for which life has in itself the germ of death and for which, consequently, the moment of death appears as the "goal of life." If death is the last task of the living man, then life has been given, not as a death-infected gift, but rather under certain conditions—that we forever "stand on the bridge that is spanned between invisibility and invisibility and nevertheless . . . are caught in the stream."

The actual subject matter of the book is the position of the artist in the world and in history: of the man who does not "do" like human beings but "creates" like God—though in appearance only. The artist is forever excluded from reality, and banished into the "empty province of beauty." His playing at eternity—and this bewitching game that we call beauty—turns into the "laughter that destroys reality," the laughter that springs from the terrible intuition that the Creation itself, and not merely man's playing at creating, can be destroyed. With this laughter the poet "descends to the mob-patterns," to the cynical, debased vulgarity over which he had been carried on his litter through the slums of Brundisium. Mob and artist alike are greedy with self-idolatry, caring only for themselves, and excluded from all true community, which is based on helpfulness. "Intoxicated with loneliness," from which spring in equal part "the intoxication of blood, the intoxication of death, and . . . the intoxication of beauty," they are both equally treacherous, equally unconcerned with truth, therefore entirely unreliable and in need of forgetting reality, by means of beauty or circus games; both are intoxicated with "empty forms and empty words."

Because the "no longer and not yet" cannot be bridged with the rainbow of beauty, the poet is bound to fall "into vulgarity . . . where vulgarity is at its worst, into literarity." From this insight rises the decision which becomes the central plot of the story, the decision to burn the "Aeneid," to have the work "consumed by the fire of reality." This deed, this sacrifice, suddenly appears as the only escape left from the "empty province of beauty," the only door through which, even when dying and in the very last moment, the poet may still perceive the promised land of reality and human fellowship.

It is at this moment that the friends enter the scene, trying to prevent what clearly are mere fever delusions of the dying man. There follows the long dialogue between Virgil and Octavian—one of the most truthful and impressive pieces of writing in all historical fiction—which ends with the abandonment of this sacrifice. The sacrifice, after all, would have been made only for the salvation of soul, out of anxiety about the self, for the sake of the symbol—while the abandonment of the plan and the gift of the manuscript win from the face of the imperial friend a last happy smile.

Then comes death, the boat ride down to the depths of the elements when gently, one after another, the friends disappear, and man returns in peace from the long voyage of freedom into the quiet waiting of an inarticulate universe. His death seemed to him a happy death: for he had found the bridge with which to span the abyss that yawns between the "no longer and not yet" of history, between the "no longer" of the old laws and the "not yet" of the new saving word,

between life and death: "Not quite here but yet at hand; that is how it has sounded and how it would sound."

The book is written in a very beautiful and extremely complicated German; the achievement of the translator is beyond praise.

HANNAH ARENDT

Similes and Satire

THE SPECTRE IMAGE. By John Nerber. Simon and Schuster. \$2.

SELECTED VERSE. By John Manifold. The John Day Company. \$2.50.

AMONG poets under thirty there appears to be a widespread notion that poetry consists of a wild flurry of striking comparisons ("The rune of creeping frost/Cracks on the tomb its lips"), strained puns ("Atlantean forces converging to a charter/Far out upon my sea"), and giving the wrong name to everything ("boys who riding Venus-cars/Drop from aloft the gap-teeth of their flight"). Doubtless a good deal of wildness is the prerogative of young poets, but this business is beginning to look less like superabundance of spirits than like a carefully cultivated vice. Somehow or other poets like Mr. Nerber, who provided the illustrations above, have got the idea that they must give their best energies to producing things of this kind; so that they have very little left for the serious business of being poets, and it is difficult to judge what they might accomplish in this way were they really to try. For what it is worth, I would guess that Mr. Nerber is quite honestly sensitive to the small, characteristic experiences. The most successful poems in this book are those which, beneath the exploding clocks and the by-play with Bulfinch, are speaking of a family dinner, working in a factory, a hospital ward.

Mr. Manifold's verse is a great relief after all this earnest miscalculation. Perhaps it is because he is an Australian, perhaps because he is a Socialist; but whatever the cause, he seems to have managed to escape into being quite unaffectedly what he is, a writer of boisterous directness with strong opinions about everything and a real respect for his craft. Nothing in this volume is great poetry, and nobody knows it better than Mr. Manifold; but there is nothing in it, either, which is not thought and felt and written cleanly. The lyrics remind you of early MacNeice; but the satires show Mr. Manifold's unpretentious virtues most clearly:

Here simple Spender in a place apart
Bares on his sleeve his haemophilic heart;
Dribble by drip the pinkish flow proceeds—
Oh, squeeze it, Mister Spender! Thar she bleeds!

"Change names and places," he says of his ideal poet,

such a man by turns
Is Henry Lawson, Lorca, Brecht, or Burns
Or becomes part of him the critics call
"Anon," the gréatest poet of them all.

Mr. Manifold is not yet such a man, but I would not lay too much money that when he grows up there may not be a family resemblance.

ARTHUR MIZENER

Dissonant Fanfare

FANFARE FOR ELIZABETH. By Edith Sitwell. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

ROYAL pride, anger, and lust; royal guilt and vengeance, suspicion and intrigue; plots, counterplots, marriages, rapes, divorces, treasons, beheadings, excommunications—a fine dissonant fanfare indeed for that daughter of Henry VIII who was proclaimed princess and heir to the throne and renounced as bastard before she was ten years old. The story is a little hard to follow, partly because it was long ago, partly because, like the time's language, it was involved with complication: no one knew all that was happening, and many, who knew a part, were crafty dissemblers and liars. And in this account it is a little hard to follow, also, because Miss Sitwell's sentences come by in such caparison and panoply that their gorgeousness distracts the reader's attention from the direction in which the procession is going. Item—"The green light glittered faintly upon gowns of such hues as ruby, crane, drake, 'flybert', 'goselinge', horseflesh, Isabella (a pale yellow), turtle, and willow. . . ." Item—"In the gardens of Westminster, and those that surrounded the Palace of Hampton, to whose walls, the colour of a bullfinch's rosy feathers, plaited rosemary was nailed, the roots of sweet-williams, violets, primroses, 'gillyvor slips,' and mints, lay hidden under the manure of strawberry-rot." Rich prose, spirited prose, delightful because delighted, fine, not always fancy, writing, with just now and then a human instance where the baroque lapses into bathos. **ROLFE HUMPHRIES**

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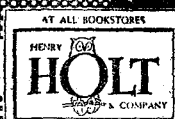
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Next Week in The Nation

BOOKS ON MUSIC

In the September 21st issue, The Books and The Arts section
of The Nation will contain:

'NEWMAN AS MAN AND CRITIC'
by B. H. Haggin

'SLOW MOVEMENT'
a poem by Louis MacNeice

'POST-WAR RADIO-PHONOGRAPHS'
by B. H. Haggin

Reviews, by Charles Farrell, Morton Dauwen Zabel, Wylie Sypher,
Ralph Bates and George Henry, of some of the season's books
on music.

Films

JAMES
AGEE

THE idea keeps nagging at me that more and more people who think of themselves as serious-minded, and progressive, thoroughly disapprove of crime melodramas. They feel that movies should be devoted, rather, to more elevated themes such as a biography of George Washington Carver, omitting nothing down to the last peanut, or a good faithful adaptation of "Adam Bede" in sepia, with the entire text read off-screen by Herbert Marshall, or the story of how the way to atomic control and the brotherhood of man has been pointed out by egg cooperatives. They seem not to remember or not to care that in Germany, a few years ago, movies had to be constructive; stories of crime, and of troubled marriage, for instance, were strictly forbidden. For many years so much has been forbidden or otherwise made impossible in Hollywood that crime has offered one of the few chances for getting any sort of vitality on the screen. The three following movies are crime melodramas, factory-made. I can't say much for them, except that they are better to watch than most other factory products and, I suspect, better still to watch than the bracing, informative, constructive films which are the only kind these progressives would allow, if they were given half a chance.

"The Killers" starts off with Ernest Hemingway's brilliant, frightening story, then spends the next hour or so highlighting all that the story so much more powerfully left in the dark. The results aren't quite what might be expected. The story is well presented, but Hemingway's talk, which on the page used to seem so nearly magical and is still so very good, sounds, on the screen, as cooked-up and formal as an eclogue. From there on out the dialogue, though generally skilful and talented, isn't within miles of Hemingway's in quality, but it is made to be seen as well as heard, so, coming out of pictures, it sounds more nearly real. The story, from where Hemingway leaves off, is also a comparative letdown, but it too is better movie—good bars, fierce boxing, nice stuff for several minor players, and the kind of calculated violence and atmosphere in the filming of a robbery and of the last two sequences which was commonplace in old gangster films and is now so rare that in a good sense as well as a bad it is almost museum material. There is a good

strident journalistic feeling for tension, noise, sentiment, and jazzed-up realism, all well manipulated by Robert Siodmak, which is probably chiefly to the credit of the producer, Mark Hellinger. There is nothing unique or even valuable about the picture, but energy combined with attention to form and detail doesn't turn up every day; neither does good entertainment.

"Black Angel" is pretty good entertainment too, on a humbler level. Taken casually, it is about like a better-than-average mystery reprint; pleasant to read yourself to sleep with. Taken as it deserves, it is better than that. Most movies of this inconspicuous, limited kind are made on a level of pure hack competence, or practically sleepwalking. Most of the people who wrote, directed, photographed, and played in this one have worked as if they believed that no job is so trivial but what it deserves the best you have. I particularly liked Dan Duryea's performance.

I finally caught up with "The Dark Corner"—not, I must confess, so badly out of breath as duty tells me I should have been. I enjoyed seeing it. I think everyone was right who pointed out that it is a shameless combination of formulas—of the murder-in-aspic, "Laura" sort of thing with the deep-city, Chandler kind which the existentialists will probably start discovering, and explaining, and imitating, almost any year now. But once in a while slickness and derivativeness persist so far in their folly that they develop a kind of vitality of their own—not to mention the fact that in movies, especially, people of real talent have sometimes either to succumb wholly to those vices or to use them as still another kind of leverage for surreptitious quality. There is no point in recommending "The Dark Corner" at all highly; but a great deal of intelligence and a fair amount of talent not only went into it, as they do into most movies, but manage—as they do in few—to remain visible. This, I thought, kept the show alive and fairly interesting.

A better show than any of these, and the funniest thing I have seen since the decline of sociological dancing, is "Rhapsody Rabbit." It is incredibly simple-minded: Bugs Bunny, interrupted by carrots and a mouse, gives a cut yet definitive performance of the most familiar of Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsodies—I forget which number. Some of it is as flatly brutal as Spike Jones, but I have never heard Jones within light-years of it except in parts

of "You Always Hurt the One You Love." The best of it goes two ways: one, very observant parody of concert-pianistic affectations, elegantly thought out and synchronized; the other, brutality keyed into the spirit of the music to reach greater subtlety than I have ever seen brutality reach before. I could hardly illustrate without musical quotation; but there is a passage in which the music goes up with an arrogant wrenching of slammed chords—Ronk, *Ronk*, RONK (G-B-E)—then prisses downward on a broken scale—which Bugs takes (a) with all four feet, charging madly, scowling like a rocking-horse late for a date at stud, (b) friskily tiptoe, proudly smirking, like a dog toedancing through his own misdemeanor or the return of an I-Was-There journalist, a man above fear or favor who knows precisely which sleeping dogs to lie about. It killed me; and when they had the wonderful brass to repeat it exactly, a few bars later, I knew what killed really meant. Perhaps I should warn you, however, not to expect too much—not to expect anything, if possible. I usually loathe these hearty burlesques of good ham art; chiefly because most of them are made in hatred of all art, and in a total lack of understanding of the thing they are burlesquing. But a good musician must have worked on this art. Barring Beatrice Lillie I have never seen anything done from so deep inside the ham; I also had the great advantage of seeing it without warning. Perhaps I can put it this way. I have always very much liked this particular eruption of Liszt's, and though it made me laugh, the laughter was without patronage, far less scorn. After seeing its guts torn out in this movie short I knew more about it, and liked it better, than ever.

[This week and last week Mr. Haggin has been taking a vacation; next week's issue will contain an article by him and his regular column.]

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S. H. Haggin in *The Nation*

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Letters to the Editors

Views on Hungary

Dear Sirs: Miss Spiel in Hungarian Holocaust (*The Nation*, August 24) gave a fairly exact picture of the economic situation. There is but a slight error in the statement that the United States "only very recently" promised to return Hungary's gold reserve from the American occupation zone to the National Bank. This promise was made to the Committee for a New Democratic Hungary more than a year ago and more definitely to the members of the Hungarian government visiting Washington. At the time of Miss Spiel's article the gold reserve had already been returned. Less complete is her account of political troubles in Hungary. The Smallholders' Party represented others than "the conservative democratic interests." In spite of having some reactionary members, its program stood for a thorough land reform. It is true that big financiers and industrialists attempted to sabotage industrial stabilization, but to suggest that Allied missions were influenced "by their undeniable charm" is, I am afraid, overrating the sex appeal of the captains of industry. In picturing the political situation Miss Spiel omits to point to the growing tension which, as it appears from a detailed report in the *Christian Science Monitor* of August 23, "fanned anti-Semitism to white heat." This shows that Magyar-Nazis are more numerous than is generally assumed.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Rockport, Mass., August 24

Third Party Need

Dear Sirs: The second instalment of Mr. Mr. Gordon's Prairie Socialism (*The Nation*, August 24) pointed up what many American progressives have long considered the great fallacy in the thinking of *The Nation's* editors, as well as many other American liberals.

Mr. Gordon speaks of the past victories of the CCF; he tells us how it has been a force for progress in Canada, even though it has not gained power; he tells us that the future of the socialist

movement in the Dominion is bright because of the CCF. Yet where does *The Nation* stand on the proposition of creating a similar movement in the United States? It seems content to hang on to P. A. C.'s choosing "the better" of "worst" candidates, to ally itself with committees for this and that.

We will not get a progressive political movement in this country by making American liberalism the tail of Democracy's Jim-Crow, poll-tax, fraudulent-machine kite! The arguments are: (1) Don't split the movement; you'll elect even worse people. (2) America isn't mature enough for such a party. (3) We can do what we want in one of the old parties.

Look around us. Would it have made a difference, really, if Dewey had not been elected and a Democrat had been in New York? Would Jim Farley not still have been the party dictator there? Has not Dewey actually done as much as would have been asked of a Democrat, even though he were supported by the liberals and the A. L. P? Look at the record of the last Congress—elected in no small way, P. A. C.'ers say, by the C. I. O. Yet it was the most ardently anti-labor national legislature in years.

If the U. S. A. is not mature enough for a real labor party now, will it ever be? Maturity is far more important in the minds of those who write for the liberal and radical press and for those who handle the affairs of our trade unions. Politics are an enigma to the average worker and farmer. He looks to these people to lead him. They can lead him after the mirage of the two old parties, or on to a new movement.

As to the third argument, does it actually need refutation? Can good come out of alliances that force us to cheer at the ousting of an old tried-and-true friend of labor like La Follette? that force us to join hands with the Pendergast machine? that throw us into allegiance to the Hagues, the Crumps, the Kellys? that support men who go to Congress determined to help big business against little citizens? (Examine the list of those who voted for OPA's crippling amendments. You'll find P. A. C.-supported candidates in there with the best of them!)

We need a new movement in this country to win our battles in Washington. . . . The time for our decision as

to whether liberalism in America gets up on its feet or grovels to bossism, racism, and expedience is upon us. We must make the choice by 1948.

SOL W. SANDERS

Franklin, N. C., August 27

Challenge to Chisholm

Dear Sirs: General Chisholm, looking at the civilization that has produced the atomic bomb and may destroy itself, offers a diagnosis (*The Nation*, July 27): "Man is prevented from progressing peacefully . . . by distortions of his power to think clearly . . . which are imposed on him while he is still a small child. . . ." The consequent prescription: "Stop giving children final answers . . . local or any other kinds of certainties . . . encourage them to prepare to do their own thinking. . . ."

The remedy, I suppose, is the word "prepare." But imagine the state of mind into which advice like this must precipitate a loving, sensitive, thoughtful, harassed parent. Shall he not tell Johnny that the fire is hot till the boy has singed his fingers? Shall he not warn him against promiscuity in adolescence but let him shape his taste, unaided, as best he can? There are ways of guarding children without the use of whips or blinders, but General Chisholm hardly suggests them; nor that parents in all ages have discovered them through taste and imagination.

Neither denying the truth of what General Chisholm says about distortions, nor belittling the achievement of Marx and Freud in propagating the truths about society that wise men have always known, and often left records of, the notion nevertheless comes that man's irrationality is due, perhaps, less to the nature of that abstraction, society, than to the nature of concrete, bewildered man. Or, supposing that General Chisholm's liberal prescription, the faith of thousands of modern liberals, is intended for the use of a future Utopia: has Utopian man no greater problem than how to manage the technique of forging, intellectually, straight ahead? That is, have all bodily inconveniences been mitigated and the uncertainties of personal relationships made fast?

Yes. The rise of appetite is now instantly met with a satisfying form of ice cream, your intellect in the meantime



progressing uninterrupted. Friends and lovers enjoy each other as much as they are inclined and, moreover, simultaneously; and children are reared knowing that they can both eat their cake and have it, too. But this is the happy world. Shaw described it in "Back to Methuselah"; it has come about through deliberate evolution. Poor twentieth-century man! One pictures him sitting on his porch of a summer evening, maybe, wondering why he cannot be everything and trying to dream up some proportion to his life; all the while dreading those twentieth-century periodicals which were preparing the future because they denied his sense of liberty. This was the reason—one relishes the irony in retrospect—why those liberal publications, so justly critical of social abuse, did not enjoy the popularity which their benevolent inspiration deserved.

JETHRO ROBINSON

New York City, July 26

Back Talk

Dear Sirs: Permit me to give voice to several minor irritations I find in *The Nation*. First, I resent Keith Hutchison's articles being set in smaller type than the rest of the journal. Second, I too frequently find Agee's film reviews replete with paradoxes and equivocations, or vacuous in their labored attempts at being profound and intellectual. Third, I don't like Barrett's puzzles: the words are not completely crossed and the definitions have a subjective quality that one might be able to fathom only if the puzzle were really crossed. Last, I am provoked with the advertisement for handwriting analysis; I don't know whether the provocation is with *The Nation* for carrying such ads, or with the possibility that the advertiser finds it profitable to seek a clientele among the kind of people I thought read *The Nation*. Believe me, I am not a dyspeptic, and I like *The Nation*, or I wouldn't take the trouble to get this off my chest.

D. L. C.

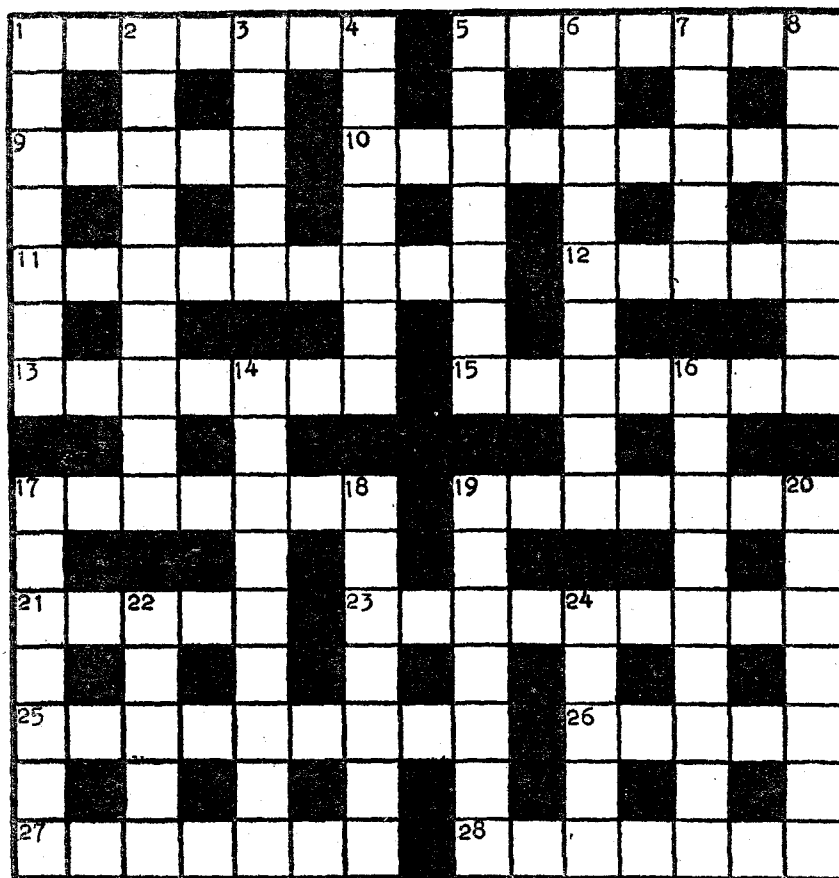
Newark, N. J., August 12

English Dependence

Dear Sirs: I believe you have been unfair to the Labor Party's foreign policy. The attitude of most of *The Nation's* contributors toward our policy in Greece, Palestine, Spain, and Indonesia has been one of shocked surprise and strong moral condemnation. This policy does not go uncriticized here. It must be recognized that critics of Mr. Bevin are

Crossword Puzzle No. 178

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Ginger beer with pastries makes you see red
- 5 Mae has swallowed a gnat
- 9 Violently
- 10 This shopkeeper might give advice to the ailing one indoors
- 11 Kilkenny serenade
- 12 A calling to account
- 13 Tell another what to say
- 15 English and Portuguese men of title meet in the former's estate
- 17 Tasteless
- 19 Where winds the Marne so? (3 and 4)
- 21 Famous "Freres" of the motion picture world
- 23 Mountains are even less than mole-hills here (6 and 3)
- 25 She had the gift of prophecy, but not of being believed
- 26 If you hear them whispering it may be of current topics
- 27 Red mats (anag.)
- 28 Squeezes in
- 3 Less thinner and less dinner
- 4 Rat goes in safekeeping
- 5 Spotted
- 6 How forbidding nearly all relatives are—especially that old cat!
- 7 Carried on
- 8 There is a rat in this that requires correction
- 14 You need little more than fruit and the art to make it (5 and 4)
- 16 Male dress (anag.)
- 17 Collisions
- 18 Mocked
- 19 Dancing
- 20 Makes objection
- 22 Opera in which a great conductor begins to make his name
- 24 Fault

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 177

ACROSS:—1 ACROSTIC; 6 ASTI; 10 APRIL; 11 PEN; 12 TABOO; 13 KHYBER; 16 BLOCUS; 17 RIVIERA; 18 STAG; 20 PRAM; 22 FULLMAN; 23 ROMP; 24 LIFE; 25 SET OVER; 27 WRIGHT; 28 RAVINE; 34 AVIAN; 35 ICY; 36 SKIER; 37 EDDY; 38 EXTERIOR.

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disturbed at the growing affinity between American capitalism and British socialism, and the simultaneous estrangement from the European left. Labor's broken promises are seen as a submission to American policy.

Possibly we are behaving more outrageously than America—though when one sees American actions in China, Japan, Germany, and the Pacific Islands, there is some doubt of it—but America is seen as the cat which dirties its paw.

The Nation would be following a more consistent policy if it recognized that the treacheries of British Labor have been the fulfilment of its subjection to America. That the subjection exists cannot be denied in the face of our growing dependence on American economy and our independence of European economy. That the Labor leadership has chosen to attach our first experiments in socialism to the American boom-and-slump bandwagon is an unpleasant straw in the wind, which *The Nation* should have the courage to recognize.

JULIAN TUDOR-HART
London, August 18

The CCF's Strength

Dear Sirs: J. King Gordon's article on the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation overlooks one of the main reasons for its effective strength and unity, namely its policy of excluding Communists, who in Canada travel under the camouflage of "Labor Progressives." Two of the leading "liberal" organizations in the United States, the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, and the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, scare away many genuine progressives, including most of those with the longest experience in progressive work, by their failure to exclude Communists. This is all the more surprising since Communists are obviously not liberals but fanatical supporters and defenders of the Russian totalitarian dictatorship and its foreign policy, whatever that policy may be. Their unreliability from a progressive point of view may be illustrated by the fact that they viciously opposed Roosevelt in two of his four campaigns, denouncing him as a "social fascist" in 1932 and as a "war monger" in 1940, because of his opposition to the Nazis, who at that time had a friendship pact with Russia.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS
New York, August 26